

# Amenhotep III

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Perspectives on His Reign

Edited by  
*David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline*

*Ann Arbor*  
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## Preface

Numerous volumes have been written on the heretic Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaoh Akhenaten. No less important a figure was Akhenaten's father, the Pharaoh Amenhotep III, who reigned from c. 1391 to 1353 B.C. A leader of numerous campaigns in Syria-Palestine, builder of numerous temples, shrines, and buildings in Thebes and Memphis, husband to Queen Tiye and a bevy of lesser wives, including the daughters of the kings of Babylon, Hatti, and Mitanni, Amenhotep III above all encouraged foreign exploration and trade to regions far beyond the borders of Egypt. Study of Amenhotep III reveals a fascinating and complex individual, responsible in more than one way for the religious and political upheavals that occurred during the reign of his son.

A complete biography of this Pharaoh has never been written. However, the past several years have seen more books and information on Amenhotep III published than ever before. This increase in attention is primarily due to the extraordinary 1992 exhibition created by the Cleveland Museum of Art, which resulted in thorough catalogues and symposia.<sup>1</sup> *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, conceived as a separate project by the editors prior to and independently of the Cleveland exhibition, was originally intended to serve as a simple biography of Amenhotep III. Instead, it has grown in the making in the ten years since its inception and now consists of a series of separate chapters on this complex individual and his reign. As such, it constitutes a further contribution to our knowledge of Amenhotep III and his reign, continuing the recent work begun by Berman, Bryan, Kozloff, and others. In addition to contributing several provocative and ground-breaking essays, it is hoped that this book will serve as a compendium and concise sourcebook for hard-to-obtain details about his reign.

The book begins with Larry Berman's overview of Amenhotep III—his life, his family, and the history of his reign. Betsy Bryan's chapter is a description of the historical antecedents leading up to Amenhotep III's reign. Ray Johnson's chapter, "Monuments and Monumental Art," deals first with the building activities of Amenhotep III and then presents a study of Amenhotep's

1. Kozloff and Bryan (1992), (1993); Berman (1990); cf. also, unrelated, Goedicke (1992).



carved-relief decoration, with particular emphasis on the theology and tendencies toward Atenism already visible during his reign. Arielle Kozloff's chapter, "Decorative and Funerary Arts," discusses a variety of small objects, including cosmetic spoons, glass vessels, artifacts of faience and Egyptian blue, jewellery, and funerary equipment. David O'Connor's chapter, "The City and the World," discusses city planning, building functions, and various aspects of religion in light of the Egyptian worldview during the time of Amenhotep III. William Murnane's chapter, "Government," gathers together the available evidence to present a fascinating glimpse of the governmental system and religious administration in place during the reign of Amenhotep III. In chapter 7, James Weinstein, Eric Cline, Kenneth Kitchen, and David O'Connor document Amenhotep III's activities in, and relationships with, Syria-Palestine, the Aegean and Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Nubia respectively. The book concludes with John Baines' "The Dawn of the Amarna Age," which reviews the significant developments in religion, kingship, art, and language during the reign of Amenhotep III that may have affected and influenced the following Amarna period. Each contribution is a self-contained essay—a comprehensive, up-to-date source on the topic, with peripheral notes and ample documentation placed in footnotes. Each is an original view of the topic under consideration and will constitute a major contribution to our understanding of Amenhotep III. Together, these chapters are intended to offer insight into the reign of Amenhotep III usable by scholars and educated laypersons alike. The observant reader will note that the individual authors within this book differ on the question of a coregency between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten. The contributors were not required to adhere to a single view as the controversy cannot yet be resolved.

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David O'Connor and Eric H. Cline  
September 1997

## Contents

Abbreviations	ix
Illustrations	xiii
Chapter 1. Overview of Amenhotep III and His Reign <i>Lawrence M. Berman</i>	1
Chapter 2. Antecedents to Amenhotep III <i>Betsy M. Bryan</i>	27
Chapter 3. Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning <i>W. Raymond Johnson</i>	63
Chapter 4. The Decorative and Funerary Arts during the Reign of Amenhotep III <i>Arielle P. Kozloff</i>	95
Chapter 5. The City and the World: Worldview and Built Forms in the Reign of Amenhotep III <i>David O'Connor</i>	125
Chapter 6. The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III <i>William J. Murnane</i>	173
Chapter 7. The World Abroad Egypt and the Levant in the Reign of Amenhotep III <i>James M. Weinstein</i>	223
Amenhotep III, the Aegean, and Anatolia <i>Eric H. Cline</i>	236
Amenhotep III and Mesopotamia <i>Kenneth A. Kitchen</i>	250
Amenhotep III and Nubia <i>David O'Connor</i>	261



Chapter 8. The Dawn of the Amarna Age <i>John Baines</i>	271
Bibliography	313
Contributors	373
Title Index	375
Subject Index	379
Plates	395

## Abbreviations

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures</i>
AnatSt	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Kairo</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BCMA	<i>Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art</i>
BdE	<i>Bibliothèque d'Étude. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo.</i>
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Kairo</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca Orientalis</i>
BMFA	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</i>
BMRAH	<i>Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire</i>
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie</i>
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CNRS	<i>Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique (France)</i>
FIFAO	<i>Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire. Cairo.</i>
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IJNA	<i>International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JMA	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>



JMAA	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Anthropology and Archaeology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
Karnak	<i>Cahiers de Karnak</i> . Vol. 3, Kêmi XX (1970). Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner. Vols. 5–6, Cairo: Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak. Vols. 7–10, Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
KUB	<i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> . Vols. 1–34, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Vorderasiatische Abteilung, and Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin, 1921–44. Vols. 35–60, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, and Zentralinstitut für alte Geschichte und Arkäologie, 1953–90.
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i> . Cairo.
MDOG	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin</i>
MIFAO	<i>Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire</i> . Cairo.
MIO	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i>
NARCE	<i>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PM	Porter, B., and Moss, R. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Vols. 1–7. Oxford: Clarendon. 1927–51. 2d ed., vols. 1–3, 1960. All references to vols. 1–3 using this abbreviation are to the second edition.
PPS	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society</i>
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
RHA	<i>Revue hittite et asianique</i>
RIDA	<i>Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité</i>
RL	<i>La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France</i>
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
TT	Theban Tomb
Urk.	<i>Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums</i> ; cf., e.g., Helck entries in the bibliography.
VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>

ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>



## Illustrations

- Map 1. The Mediterranean during the reign of Amenhotep III  
Map 2. The Nile Valley during the reign of Amenhotep III  
Map 3. Correlations between findspots of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye objects and sites on the Aegean List of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan  
Map 4. Nubia during the reign of Amenhotep III
- Fig. 1.1. Colossi of Memnon  
Fig. 1.2. Colossal group of Amenhotep III, Tiye, and three princesses  
Fig. 1.3. Figure of Tiye on southern colossus of Memnon  
Fig. 1.4. Amenhotep III as crown prince  
Fig. 1.5. Wild-bull-hunt scarab of Amenhotep III  
Fig. 1.6. Statue base of Amenhotep III with Sudanese place-names
- Fig. 2.1. Sphinx stela of Thutmose IV from Giza  
Fig. 2.2. Hatshepsut as a sphinx. Memphis  
Fig. 2.3. Eighth Pylon of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep II, Karnak  
Fig. 2.4. Colossal image of Thutmose III at Karnak  
Fig. 2.5. Head of Queen Mother Tiaa from statue with Thutmose IV  
Fig. 2.6. Block from Karnak with Nefrura as God's wife holding mace  
Fig. 2.7. Thutmose IV from Karnak court with sun disk and uraei on kilt  
Fig. 2.8. Thutmose IV with oblique eyes resembling Amenhotep III
- Fig. 3.1. Rock-cut stela fragment from the Tura limestone quarries  
Fig. 3.2. Restored Amenhotep III quartzite baboon  
Fig. 3.3. Luxor temple proper and solar court, looking south  
Fig. 3.4. Luxor temple Colonnade Hall, east side  
Fig. 3.5. Amenhotep III cult statue from the Luxor temple cachette  
Fig. 3.6. Karnak, Tenth Pylon, south face  
Fig. 3.7. Karnak, Tenth Pylon, south face; detail of east quartzite colossus, "Nebmaatra, Montu of the Rulers"  
Fig. 3.8. Karnak, Montu temple, looking north  
Fig. 3.9. Karnak, Montu temple; twin colossal statues in quartzite of Amenhotep III carrying the standard of Amon



- Fig. 3.10. Mortuary temple solar court of Amenhotep III, looking east toward the Colossi of Memnon
- Fig. 3.11. Mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, looking north; the Colossi of Memnon
- Fig. 3.12. Mortuary temple of Merenptah, looking north; reused limestone blocks of Amenhotep III
- Fig. 3.13. Granodiorite statue of a deity with the features of Amenhotep III
- Fig. 3.14. Site of Amenhotep III's jubilee palace at Malqata, looking north
- Fig. 3.15. Detail of Toledo Museum of Art no. 1925.522 from the Tura limestone quarries
- Fig. 3.16. Lintel detail of Amenhotep III portal found reused within his own Third Pylon, Karnak
- Fig. 3.17. Detail of Amenhotep III lintel found reused within his own Third Pylon, Karnak
- Fig. 3.18. Karnak, Montu temple, looking north; only preserved scene from the temple proper
- Fig. 3.19. Luxor temple proper, southeastern back shrine, east wall
- Fig. 3.20. Detail of Amenhotep III Atum face from the back sanctuary of Luxor temple proper; north wall, south face, first register of east side
- Fig. 3.21. Reassembled Amenhotep III head from his Luxor temple solar court; detail of ear
- Fig. 3.22. Detail of Amenhotep III wearing the *khepresh*-crown, from his Luxor temple solar court; reassembled fragment group
- Fig. 3.23. Luxor temple, Colonnade Hall facade
- Fig. 3.24. Karnak, Amenhotep III's Third Pylon, north tower, east side
- Fig. 3.25. Karnak, Amenhotep III's Third Pylon, north tower, east side; detail of far left scene
- Fig. 3.26. Karnak, Fifth Pylon facade, north tower, west face; relief added by Amenhotep III
- Fig. 3.27. Storehouse of Amon block from Karnak, reused in the Second Pylon
- Fig. 3.28. Detail of Amenhotep III face from the Karnak Storehouse of Amon block
- Fig. 3.29. Detail of Amenhotep III face from the limestone battle stela from his mortuary temple
- Fig. 3.30. Quartzite stela fragment found in the Chapel of Wadjmose, West Thebes
- Fig. 3.31. Detail of Amenhotep III face from the Wadjmose chapel lintel, West Thebes
- Fig. 3.32. Detail of Amenhotep III face from Hebenu

- Fig. 3.33. Painting from the royal tomb of Amenhotep III; the king greeted by Hathor
- Fig. 3.34. Normal spelling of *Nebmaatira* and rebus spelling of the same
- Fig. 3.35. Elaborate rebus of "Nebmaatira is the Dazzling Aten" (*Neb-maat-ra Itn-Tjehen*)
- Fig. 3.36. Detail of Amenhotep IV face from the Ra-Horakhty temple, Karnak
- Fig. 3.37. Detail of Amenhotep IV face from the Ra-Horakhty temple, Karnak; Karnak Tenth Pylon court
- Fig. 4.1. Spoon with sky goddess holding a duck, of boxwood, ebony, and ivory
- Fig. 4.2. Yellow kohl jar with cartouches of Amenhotep III and Tiye
- Fig. 4.3. Glass perfume bottle in the shape of a Nile fish
- Fig. 4.4. Wine amphora with ibex head, of painted earthenware
- Fig. 4.5. Carved gem of carnelian
- Fig. 4.6. Coffin of Henut-wedjebu, singer of Amen
- Fig. 5.1. National distribution of significant temples of Amenhotep III, correlated with seasonal, agricultural, and ritual processes
- Fig. 5.2. Schematic representation of Karnak temple and its environs under Amenhotep III
- Fig. 5.3. Schematic representation of the palatial complex at Malqata
- Fig. 5.4. Schematic representation of the memorial temple stela of Amenhotep III, illustrating its structure as a cosmogram
- Fig. 5.5. Schematic representation of the memorial temple stela of Amenhotep III, illustrating the organization of its text in relationship to the monuments of Amenhotep III and Amon-Ra's concluding speech
- Fig. 5.6. Schematic representation of the memorial temple stela of Amenhotep III, illustrating the spatial and conceptual centrality of that part of the text describing the sacred barge of Amon-Ra
- Fig. 5.7. Thebes as a cosmogram under Amenhotep III
- Fig. 7.1. Colossi of Memnon at Kom el-Hetan
- Fig. 7.2. Aegean List of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan
- Fig. 7.3. Faience plaque of Amenhotep III at Mycenae
- Fig. 7.4. Faience scarab of Amenhotep III at Ialysos, Rhodes
- Fig. 8.1. The two principal forms of the "dogmatic" name of Akhenaten's god, enclosed in their normal cartouches



Fig. 8.2. Granite stela of Suty and Hor

Fig. 8.3. Limestone stela with relief of Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and two daughters

Fig. 8.4. Granodiorite colossal statue of Amenhotep III in "youthful" guise

Fig. 8.5. Quartzite colossal head of Amenhotep III in angular style

Amenhotep III



## Chapter 1

# Overview of Amenhotep III and His Reign

*Lawrence M. Berman*

Amenhotep III was the ninth ruler of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> From his predecessors he inherited a great empire, whose borders stretched from northern Syria to the Fifth Cataract of the Nile, in the Sudan. During his thirty-eight-year reign (ca. 1391–1353 B.C.), Egypt was wealthier and more powerful than ever before. Years of peace, bumper harvests, and a steady flow of gold from the eastern desert and the Sudan (which gave Egypt the upper hand in trade negotiations with the other ancient Near Eastern powers) enabled this innovative and farsighted monarch virtually to transform the landscape of the Nile Valley. Luxor temple and the Colossi of Memnon (fig. 1.1) are only the most famous of the monuments that Amenhotep III erected throughout Egypt and northern Sudan to the glory of the gods and his own everlasting fame. No king of Egypt left more monuments, more tangible proofs of his greatness, than Amenhotep III, except Ramses II, who had the advantage of coming later and ruling longer (not to mention taking over many of Amenhotep III's buildings and statues for himself). Dubbed "Amenhotep the Magnificent" by historians, Amenhotep III preferred to call himself "the Dazzling Sun Disk."

## The Royal Titulary

Upon his accession to the throne, each Egyptian king assumed a five-part titulary, each part consisting of a title followed by a name. The titles are the same for every ruler; but each king chose his own names. The regular titulary of Amenhotep III is Horus: *Ka-nakht kha-em-maat* (Strong bull, appearing in truth); Two Ladies: *Semen-hepu segereh-tawy* (Who establishes laws, who pacifies the Two Lands); Golden Horus: *Aa-khepesh hu-Setiu* (Great of

1. This chapter is a much abridged and otherwise reworked version of chapters 2–3 in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 33–72.



strength, smiter of the Asiatics); King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Neb-maat-Ra* (Ra is the lord of truth); Son of Ra: *Amen-hotep heqa-Waset* (Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes).

Each of these elements expresses a different aspect of the king's divine nature or his relationship with the other gods. The Horus name identifies him as an embodiment of the sky god Horus. The Two Ladies (literally, "He of the Two Ladies") name places him under the protection of the tutelary goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, the vulture goddess Nekhbet of El-Kab and the cobra goddess Wadjet of Buto. The last two names, known as the praenomen and nomen, are written inside cartouches, or ovals, signifying universal rule. The praenomen, which follows the title "King of Upper and Lower Egypt," is the name most often used to refer to the king in contemporary inscriptions. It is always compounded with the name of the sun god Ra. The nomen, which follows the title "Son of Ra," is the name the king was given at birth, by which he was known before he became king. Almost without exception, the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty were called either by the name *Amenhotep* (meaning "Amon is satisfied") or by the name *Thutmose* (meaning "Thoth is born"), just as the latter-day Bourbons favored the name *Louis*, the Hanovers *George*, the Hohenzollerns *Wilhelm*.

The choice of a titulary was selected to explain or describe the ruler and his program. Thus, Amenhotep III's names show him as the perfect ruler, the embodiment of law and order (appearing in truth, establishing laws, pacifying the Two Lands), who maintains the great empire established by his predecessors (smiter of the Asiatics).

Amenhotep III was adept—particularly later in his reign—in varying his titulary to suit a particular place or occasion.<sup>2</sup> For example, on the back of the southern colossus of Memnon—one of a pair of seated statues flanking the principal entrance of Amenhotep III's mortuary temple in western Thebes—his Horus name is "Ruler of rulers, king great of glory in Thebes;" his Two Ladies name is "Great of monuments matching his strength, which were brought from Lower Egyptian Heliopolis to Upper Egyptian Heliopolis," a direct reference to the statues themselves, which were quarried at Gebel Ahmar, near Heliopolis (on the outskirts of Cairo) in Lower Egypt, and then shipped 676 kilometers south to Thebes (also known as Upper Egyptian Heliopolis); and his Golden Horus name is "Who magnifies his mansion of eternity" (i.e., the mortuary temple).<sup>3</sup> More often, rather than

changing the individual names themselves, the regular elements of the titulary were embellished or interspersed with epithets, such as "the good god" and "lord of the Two Lands." Although Amenhotep III used a great number of these (as did every other ruler), solar epithets predominate. Over and over again we see "heir of Ra," "chosen one of Ra," and "image of Ra before the Two Lands." None of these terms was unique to him, but he used them with an insistency far surpassing that of previous rulers.

One of Amenhotep III's favorite epithets, "(Nebmaat) is) the Dazzling Sun Disk" ([*Neb-maat-Ra*] *aten-tjehe*), was indeed coined expressly for him. Although it occurs in his titulary at Luxor temple and, as "the Dazzling Sun Disk of all lands," on the back of the statue of the king on a sledge from the Luxor *cachette*,<sup>4</sup> the name appears more frequently in other contexts, as the name of a palace, a royal barge, and a company in the army.<sup>5</sup>

### The King's Family

Amenhotep III was the son of Thutmose IV and Mutemwia. The ten-year reign of Thutmose IV (ca. 1401–1391 B.C.) marked a turning point in the history of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> The military campaigns in western Asia, characterizing the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, were over. Thutmose IV cemented a treaty with the kingdom of Mitanni (in northern Mesopotamia), Egypt's principal rival in the Near East, by marrying a daughter of its ruler, Artatama I.<sup>7</sup> The two nations remained friends throughout the reign of Amenhotep III until in the Amarna period the balance of power in western Asia was upset by the resurgent kingdom of the Hittites (in Anatolia) under Šuppiluliuma I.

As Egypt adjusted from a wartime to a peacetime economy, the image of the ruler changed accordingly. Although the king still carefully maintained his image as a mighty warrior, the trend during Thutmose IV's reign increasingly emphasized his identification with the gods, particularly the sun god, thus presaging one of the principal aspects of Amenhotep III's reign.

Amenhotep III's mother, Mutemwia, was a minor wife of Thutmose IV, not his chief queen. On her monuments she is called both "great royal wife" (*hemet nesu weret*) and "king's mother" (*mut nesu*) or "god's mother" (*mut netjer*), which amounts to the same thing, the god in question being the

2. For the permutations of Amenhotep III's titulary at Luxor temple and elsewhere, see Bell (1985a) 285–87.

3. *Urk.* IV 1746, 13–17. For Thebes as the Upper Egyptian Heliopolis, see Varille (1933) 86–89; idem (1934) 10–11.

4. *Urk.* IV 1697, 6; el-Saghir (1991b) 22, figs. 47–48.

5. Legrain (1903) 138–49; Hayes (1951) 96–98, 178–79; Fairman in Pendlebury (1951) 200; *Urk.* IV 1737, 16. For the reading *Aten-tjehe*, see Redford (1976) 51.

6. Bryan (1991) chap. 6, "Thutmose IV Abroad and at Home."

7. Ibid. 118–19, 337.



reigning king.<sup>8</sup> Obviously she could not be called “king’s mother” until Amenhotep III became ruler and gave her the rank of “great royal wife.”<sup>9</sup> Of her importance in the reign of Amenhotep III there can be no doubt, as best shown in the Luxor temple scenes depicting Amenhotep III’s divine birth, in the so-called Birth Room.<sup>10</sup> There, the god Amon-Ra visits Mutemwia in her palace disguised as her husband, Thutmose IV. After he reveals his true identity, they conceive the future king Amenhotep III.

[Words spoken by Amon-Ra, lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, foremost in his harem:]<sup>11</sup> When he had transformed himself into the Majesty of this husband, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheprura (Thutmose IV), given life, he found her (Mutemwia) as she was resting in the beauty of her palace. She awoke on account of the aroma of the god and cried out in front of His Majesty. He went to her straightaway . . . and he caused her to see him in his form of a god. . . . She rejoiced at the sight of his beauty, and love of him coursed through her limbs. The palace was flooded with the god’s aroma; all his fragrances were (of) Punt.<sup>12</sup>

Words spoken by Mutemwia before the Majesty of this august god, Amon-Ra, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands: “How great is your power! . . . Your dew permeates all my limbs.” And then the Majesty of this god did all that he desired with her.

Words spoken by Amon-Ra, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, before her: “Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, is the name of this child I have placed in your body. . . . He shall exercise the beneficent kingship in this whole land. . . . He shall rule the Two Lands like Ra forever.”<sup>13</sup>

Nothing is known of Mutemwia’s background; she is certainly not the Mitannian princess Thutmose IV married, as some scholars have suggested in

8. Ibid. 113–18.

9. The same situation existed for Thutmose IV’s mother, the “great royal wife” Tiaa. All of her monuments date to the reign of her son and thus do not reflect her status as “great royal wife” in the reign of her husband, Amenhotep II; see *ibid.*, 93–108 (but see, *contra*, Wente and Van Siclen [1976] 229).

10. Porter and Moss (1972) 326–27; Brunner (1964) pls. 7–11.

11. So reads the caption behind the figure of the god, although what follows is not really his speech.

12. This land of aromatic gums and spices, also called “God’s Land” in the ancient texts, is thought to be located along the Red Sea coast in the general area of Port Sudan-Suakin; see Kitchen (1971) 184–207.

13. *Urk.* IV 1714, 6–1715, 16.

an attempt to give her an exotic origin.<sup>14</sup> The date of her death is unknown, but her presence on the Colossi of Memnon might indicate that she lived on until the last decade of the reign.<sup>15</sup>

By the second year of his reign, Amenhotep III was already married to his “great royal wife,” Queen Tiye. We know more about Tiye than we do about practically any other Eighteenth Dynasty queen, with the obvious exception of Hatshepsut, who ruled as king. (Nefertiti’s monuments may be more numerous, and her painted limestone bust in Berlin has made her world famous, but for all that she remains an enigmatic figure.) For one thing, we know her parents, Yuya and Tuya. Their tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 46), one of the few private ones, was discovered in 1905 by the Egyptian Antiquities Service for Theodore M. Davis.<sup>16</sup> Although small and roughly cut (like all private tombs in the valley) and plundered in antiquity, its treasures—all in Cairo, except for a few pieces given to Davis that are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art<sup>17</sup>—are second only to Tutankhamen’s.

Yuya’s characteristic title is “god’s father,” a priestly title often given in the New Kingdom to senior officials—viziers (Aper-el, for example, whose magnificent rock-cut tomb was recently discovered at Saqqara), generals, and also men of lower rank who were “like a father” to the king (such as royal tutors). This is the only case in which it demonstrably refers to a royal father-in-law.<sup>18</sup> Yuya’s other titles are “master of the horse” and “His Majesty’s lieutenant commander of chariotry,” “priest of Min,” and “overseer of cattle of Min, lord of Akhmim.” From these titles it would appear that Akhmim (Panopolis, on the east bank of the Nile, across from Sohag) was Yuya’s hometown. The many different spellings of his name suggest that it is a non-Egyptian name, and that Yuya might have been, if not a foreigner himself, at least of foreign origin, but that is far from certain.<sup>19</sup>

Tuya proudly calls herself “king’s mother of the great royal wife”—in addition to her other titles of “chief of the entertainers of Min,” “chief of the entertainers of Amen,” “priestess of Amon,” and “singer of Hathor”—and

14. See Bryan (1991) 119.

15. And perhaps also the mention of her estate on a wine-jar label from Malqata Palace: see *ibid.* 56–57, 116; Hayes (1951) 97.

16. Davis et al. (1907); Quibell (1908); Porter and Moss (1960) 562–64; Romer (1981) chap. 19, “Yuya and Tuya”; Reeves (1990b) 148–53.

17. Hayes (1959) 261–62, 263, fig. 158.

18. See Gardiner (1947) 47\*–53\*, esp. 51\*; Brunner (1961) 90–100; Bryan (1991) 44–46. Pace Aldred (1957b) 30–41, there is no proof that the “god’s father” Ay was the father-in-law of Akhenaten.

19. The various spellings of Yuya’s name are given by Maspero in Davis et al. (1907) xiii–xiv.



cannot help mentioning, twice, “her son, the second prophet of Amon, the praised one of the good god, Anen.” Were it not for this we would not know that this Anen, who is well known from his statue in Turin,<sup>20</sup> and who occupied the second highest post in the clergy of Amon, was the king’s brother-in-law, a fact he does not mention on his own monuments.

It used to be believed that the right to the throne passed through the female line in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and that each king, to secure his legitimacy, married a royal “heiress,” usually his own sister or half sister. This so-called heiress theory is no longer accepted, so there is no reason to be surprised that Tiye was not of royal birth.<sup>21</sup> Still, one cannot help wondering just how this daughter of a not very highly placed provincial family came to be chosen as “great royal wife.” Amenhotep III’s tender age at the time would seem to rule out the idea of a love match. It is reasonable to suppose that Mutemwia, who remained a powerful figure as long as she lived and likely acted as regent during Amenhotep III’s early years, had something to do with it.

The remarkable thing about Tiye, however, is not where she came from but what she became. No previous queen ever figured so prominently in her husband’s lifetime. Tiye regularly appears beside Amenhotep III in statuary,<sup>22</sup> tomb and temple reliefs,<sup>23</sup> and stelae;<sup>24</sup> her name is paired with his on numerous small objects, such as vessels and jewelry,<sup>25</sup> not to mention the large commemorative scarabs, where her name regularly follows his in the dateline.<sup>26</sup> New elements in her portraiture, such as the addition of cows’ horns and sun disks—attributes of the goddess Hathor—to her headdress, and her representation in the form of a sphinx—an image formerly reserved for the king—emphasize her role as the king’s divine, as well as earthly, partner.<sup>27</sup> Amenhotep III built a temple to her at Sedeinga in northern Sudan, where she was worshiped as a form of Hathor. Her memory survives there today in the name of the neighboring village, Adey, from *Hut Tiye*, “the Mansion of Tiye.”<sup>28</sup> The temple at Sedeinga was the pendant to Amenhotep

III’s own, larger temple at Soleb, fifteen kilometers to the south (an arrangement followed a century later by Ramses II at Abu Simbel, where there are likewise two temples, the larger, southern temple dedicated to the king, and the smaller, northern temple dedicated to the queen, Nefertiry, as Hathor). Indeed, the emphasis on the queen’s role as the king’s divine female counterpart, exemplified by Tiye in the reign of Amenhotep III, provided the model for Nefertiti in the reign of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) and for Nefertiry in the reign of Ramses II.

Amenhotep III and Tiye had four daughters who are known today: Sitamen, Henuttaneb, Isis, and Nebetah. Like the queen, they appear frequently on statuary and reliefs,<sup>29</sup> and each, with the exception of Nebetah, is represented by smaller objects.<sup>30</sup> Nebetah appears only once, albeit in colossal size, on the limestone group from Medinet Habu (fig. 1.2).<sup>31</sup> This huge sculpture, seven meters high, shows Amenhotep III and Tiye seated side by side, with three of their daughters standing in front of the throne—Henuttaneb, the largest and best preserved, in the center; Nebetah on the right; and another, whose name is destroyed, on the left. It originally stood in the king’s mortuary temple precinct, was found in pieces at Medinet Habu, and was brought to the Cairo Museum, where it was reassembled.

So important was the role of the royal princesses that two of them, Sitamen and Isis, were elevated to “great royal wife” sometime in the last decade of the reign.<sup>32</sup> This in no way diminished the status enjoyed by Queen Tiye. On the contrary, the theological paradigm on which royalty was based, by which the king’s family relationships were patterned after those of the great gods, encouraged him to accept female partners of different generations.<sup>33</sup> Was not Hathor in her various roles mother, wife, and daughter of Ra? Thus, on the Colossi of Memnon, for example, the king is accompanied by three generations of royal women: on either side of the throne and between the king’s legs are smaller-scale (but still quite large) standing figures of Mutemwia on the left, Tiye on the right, and in the center a princess (mostly de-

20. Turin no. 5484; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) no. 43.

21. See Robins (1983) 67–77.

22. E.g., Kozloff and Bryan (1992) nos. 12, 22, 27.

23. Ibid. no. 56.

24. Ibid. nos. 29, 60.

25. Ibid. nos. 100, 129.

26. Ibid. nos. 1, 2.

27. See Morkot (1986) 1–9; Robins (1986) 10–14; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) nos. 13, 15, 90, 123.

28. See Leclant (1984a) 781 n. 1.

29. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) nos. 24, 57.

30. Ibid. nos. 103, 104.

31. Porter and Moss (1960) 774; Müller (1988) IV—21–22; Russmann and Finn (1989) 98–101, no. 45; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 42, fig. II.5; Trad and Mahmoud (1993) 40–44.

32. Jar-label inscriptions from Malqata Palace show that Sitamen was “great royal wife” already by year 30 (Hayes [1951] fig. 9 [label type 95]). The date of Isis’s promotion is unknown, but if the king’s Horus name “Who Repeats Sed Festivals” on her statuette in the George Ortiz collection (Kozloff and Bryan [1992] no. 24) is to be taken literally, then it would have been after (or in) year 34, when Amenhotep III celebrated his second Sed Festival.

33. See Troy (1986) 103, 107, 111.



stroyed, originally just about life-size) whose name can no longer be made out (fig. 1.3).<sup>34</sup>

Royal sons, unlike the royal daughters, are rarely associated with the king in statuary and reliefs.<sup>35</sup> As children they may appear in the tombs of their tutors or other officials occupied with their affairs (as does Prince Siatum—whoever he was—in the tomb of Meryra, and as does the future Amenhotep III himself in the tomb of Heqarneheh).<sup>36</sup> Having reached maturity, they may appear in an administrative or official capacity. Amenhotep III's eldest son (presumably by Tiye), named Thutmose after his grandfather, though better known than most, is no exception.<sup>37</sup> He held the offices of *sem*-priest and high priest of Ptah in Memphis, and he is shown in this capacity in an unpublished scene from the Saqqara Serapeum, assisting his father at the first Apis bull burial.<sup>38</sup> A small black steatite statuette in the Louvre represents him in the costume of the Memphite high priest, prostrate, with one knee drawn up.<sup>39</sup> Prince Thutmose is best remembered, however, for the limestone sarcophagus of his cat, named Ta-miu (she-cat), in the Cairo Museum.<sup>40</sup>

Thutmose evidently predeceased his father; at any rate, he never became king. That position fell to another of Amenhotep III's sons by Tiye, also called Amenhotep, better known to history as Akhenaten. The future Amenhotep IV does not appear on monuments of his father's reign, the only apparent reference to him during this period being the mention of an "estate of the king's son Amenhotep" on a jar sealing from Amenhotep III's palace at Malqata in western Thebes.<sup>41</sup>

That Tutankhamen also was a son of Amenhotep III is unlikely, if only for chronological reasons. Amenhotep III reigned for thirty-eight years, Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) for seventeen. Tutankhamen, who married Amenhotep III's granddaughter Ankhesenpaaten (who later changed her name to Ankhesenamen), reigned for nine years. For the boy king to have been the son of Amenhotep III, he would have to have been considerably older at the

time of his death than the eighteen years generally allotted to him, barring a coregency of up to twelve years between Amenhotep III and his son.<sup>42</sup>

In fact, the parentage of Tutankhamen (born Tutankhaten) is unknown. No one seriously doubts that he was of the Eighteenth Dynasty royal line—indeed the last king of that line to rule Egypt. And clearly official policy during his reign associates him with Amenhotep III rather than with Akhenaten. Texts from the colonnade at Luxor temple, as interpreted by Lanny Bell, point to Amenhotep III as the father of Tutankhamen.<sup>43</sup> But scenes from the royal tomb at Amarna (room *alpha*), as interpreted by Geoffrey Martin, show a male royal child, possibly Tutankhamen, born to Kiya (or possibly Merytaten), in which case he would have been the son of Akhenaten, perhaps by his wife Kiya.<sup>44</sup> The more plausible theory is that Tutankhamen was Amenhotep III's grandson.

### The Early Years

Royal sons tended to be inconspicuous in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and it was highly unusual for one to be singled out in his father's lifetime as the heir to the throne. The reign of Thutmose IV was an exception. Many of his sons are known, and it is clear that the young Amenhotep was publicly recognized as the heir apparent.<sup>45</sup> Amenhotep appears as the "king's son of his body" in a much-damaged scene in the tomb of his tutor, Heqarneheh (TT 64), whose tomb was decorated in the reign of Thutmose IV (fig. 1.4).<sup>46</sup> Heqarneheh's father, Heqareshu, had been Thutmose IV's tutor. Heqareshu is seated on the left, with a child-size figure of the then reigning king Thutmose IV on his lap. Facing him is the full-scale figure of his son Heqarneheh, originally accompanied by seven royal children. The one in front, standing on the dais of the throne, shown larger than the others, is the future Amenhotep III.

Amenhotep III was just a boy when his father died, no more than ten or twelve years old. Thutmose IV's highest regnal date is year 7 or 8; he probably ruled for ten or twelve years.<sup>47</sup> If Amenhotep III was born at the begin-

34. Habachi in Haeny (1981) 48–50; Eaton-Krauss and Fay (1981) 25–29.

35. See Robins (1987) 16–17. Exactly why this is so is difficult to say. It may have been ritual or it may have been political. For a list of known royal sons of the Eighteenth Dynasty and their monuments, see Dodson (1990) 91–96.

36. Vienna no. ÄS 5814; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) no. 58.

37. Prince Thutmose has recently been discussed by Dodson (1990) 87–88.

38. Ibid. 88; Porter and Moss (1981) 780.

39. Louvre no. N 792 = E 2749; Dodson (1990) 87 n. 1 and pl. V.2.

40. Cairo no. CG 5003; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 425, fig. XIV.1.

41. Hayes (1951) fig. 27 (KK); Redford (1984) 58–59.

42. However, no argument based entirely on Tutankhamen's putative age at death is conclusive: Harris and Wente place him as old as twenty-five. See Wente 42 (1983) 316.

43. L. Bell (1990); idem (1986) 47–49.

44. Martin (1989b) 38–40, pls. 58–61; cf. esp. idem, 45. For further references, see Eaton-Krauss (1985) 814 n. 3, who opts for Akhenaten, as does Reeves (1990a) 24.

45. Bryan (1991) 50–52, 53–55, 70–71, 349–50.

46. Newberry (1928) 83–84, line drawing on pl. XII; Dodson (1990) 93 n. 63, 94 ("Amenhotpe C"); Bryan (1991) 53–55; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 37, fig. II.3.

47. Bryan (1991) 25.



ning of this period, he would have been ten or twelve years old when he ascended the throne. Of course, he could have been born while his father was still crown prince, in which case he would have been that much older at his accession. Or he could have been younger, as Vandersleyen believes.

[W]e do not know how young Amenhotep III was when he ascended the throne, but young he certainly was because his father himself did not reach his thirties, after a short reign of about ten years, and we do not even know if Amenhotep was the first-born in the family; in my opinion, he was not older than ten, maybe younger, at his accession.<sup>48</sup>

Estimates based on Thutmose IV's supposed age at death, however, are inconclusive: he could have been anywhere from twenty-five to forty.<sup>49</sup> The age of Amenhotep III at his death is likewise uncertain. Based on the examination of his mummy, Smith concluded that he was between forty and fifty.<sup>50</sup> Given a reign of thirty-eight years, that would make him between two (clearly impossible) and twelve years of age at his accession.

Amenhotep III's first recorded acts as king, in years 1 and 2, were to open new limestone quarry chambers at Tura, just south of Cairo, and at Deir el-Bersha, in Middle Egypt, heralding the great building projects that were to come.<sup>51</sup>

In his fifth regnal year Amenhotep III successfully completed his first and only dated military campaign, against rebellious tribes in Kush (Sudan). He commemorated his victory on three rock-carved stelae in the vicinity of Aswan and at Sai Island in the Sudan.<sup>52</sup> The official account of the victory naturally enough emphasizes the young king's martial prowess.

48. Vandersleyen (1990) 2–3.

49. Smith (1904) 113; idem (1912) 44–45; Krogman and Baer (1980) 133; Bryan (1991) 9–13.

50. Smith (1912) 50. See, however, Wente and Harris (1992) 2–20, where the mummy traditionally identified as Amenhotep III is identified as Akhenaten, and where the mummy traditionally identified as Amenhotep I is identified as Amenhotep III.

51. Porter and Moss (1934) 74, 185; *Urk.* IV 1677–78, 1680–81. A fragment of the year 2 Tura stela is Toledo no. 1925.522; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) no. 3.

52. Porter and Moss (1937) 245, 254; idem (1951) 166; *Urk.* IV 1661–66, 1793, 1959; Breasted (1906) 335–36; Gundlach (1987) 180–217. Topozada rightly excludes from the list of documents pertaining to the campaign of year 5 the stela from Buhen, Pennsylvania, University Museum no. E 10995, which belongs to Sesostri I; see Topozada (1988) 153 n. 3, and cf. Smith (1976) 58–59, pl. LXXII, 3. However, the Bubastis inscription utilized extensively by Topozada (160–62) in reconstructing the sequence of events of this campaign is too fragmentary to be of real use and may not have to do with Nubia at all. For this inscription, see Porter and Moss (1934) 31; Breasted (1906) 337–40; *Urk.* IV 1734–36; Säve-Söderbergh (1941) 160–62; Faulkner (1955) 84–90.

Regnal year 5, third month of Inundation, day 2. Appearance under the Majesty of Horus: Strong bull, appearing in truth; Two Ladies: Who establishes laws and pacifies the Two Lands; Golden Horus: Great of strength, smiter of the Asiatics, the good god, ruler of Thebes, lord of strength, brave, valorous; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Nebmaatira, heir of Ra; Son of Ra: [Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes], beloved of [Amon]-Ra, King of the Gods, and Khnum, lord of the cataract, given life.

One came to tell His Majesty, "The fallen one of vile Kush has plotted rebellion in his heart." His Majesty led on to victory; he completed it in his first campaign of victory. His Majesty reached them like the wing stroke of a falcon, like Menthu (war god of Thebes) in his transformations. . . . Ikheny, the booster in the midst of his army, did not know the lion that was before him. Nebmaatira was the fierce-eyed lion whose claws seized vile Kush, who trampled down all its chiefs in their valleys, they being cast down in their blood, one on top of the other. . . .<sup>53</sup>

The campaign of year 5 possibly took the king past the Fifth Cataract into the Shendi reach of the Nile and the northern Butana region, or "Island of Meroe," the triangle between the Nile and its sole tributary, the Atbara, which meets the Nile 336 kilometers northeast of Khartoum.<sup>54</sup> This campaign may or may not be related to the expedition led by the viceroy of Kush Merymose against the land of Ibhet, as recorded on a fragmentary stela from Semna (Second Cataract).<sup>55</sup> The upper part of the stela, however, which presumably would have contained the date, is missing, and Ibhet is probably to be located not in the far south but in the desert wadis (dry riverbeds) southeast of the Second Cataract. Therefore, some scholars believe this to have been a different, later campaign.<sup>56</sup>

Characteristic of Amenhotep III's reign are large commemorative scarabs inscribed on their undersides with lengthy texts extolling the king's deeds (fig. 1.5). Over two hundred are known; they have been found everywhere

53. *Urk.* IV 1665–66.

54. O'Connor (1987) 99–136, esp. 128–30.

55. British Museum no. EA 657; Porter and Moss (1951) 155; *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1909) 115; Edwards (1938) 21–22, pl. 20; *Urk.* IV 1659–61; Breasted (1906) 340–42; Säve-Söderbergh (1941) 158–60.

56. Dehler (1984) 77–83; O'Connor (1987) 128; Topozada (1988) 153–64. For the location of Ibhet, see Zibelius (1972) 74–75.



from Syria (Ras Shamra) to the Sudan (Soleb).<sup>57</sup> The scarabs vary in length from 4.7 to 11 centimeters, the majority measuring between 7 and 8.9 centimeters. The vast majority, 59 percent, are carved of steatite, originally glazed blue or green, also a popular medium for small-scale royal sculpture in this reign.<sup>58</sup>

The scarabs are divided into five groups, distinguished by the inscriptions on their undersides. Four of these refer to events dated in the early part of the reign. A rare group of five scarabs recount in vivid detail a wild-bull hunt that took place in year 2:

Regnal year 2 under the Majesty of . . .<sup>59</sup> Amenhotep (III), ruler of Thebes, given life, and the great royal wife Tiye; may she live like Ra.

A wonder that befell His Majesty. One came to His Majesty saying, "There are wild bulls on the desert of the region of Shetep" (probably in the oasis of Wadi el-Natrun, about halfway between Cairo and Alexandria).<sup>60</sup> His Majesty sailed downstream in the royal barge Kham-maat at the time of evening, making good time, arriving in peace at the region of Shetep at the time of morning. His Majesty appeared in his chariot with his whole army in back of him. One instructed the officers and private soldiers in their entirety and the children of the nursery<sup>61</sup> to keep a watch on these wild bulls. Then His Majesty commanded to be caused that one surround these wild bulls with an enclosure with a ditch, and His Majesty proceeded against all these wild

57. Blankenberg-van Delden (1969), list of provenances on 194–95; idem (1976) 74–80, pls. XII–XIII; idem (1977) 83–87, pls. XIII–XIV; Jones (1979) 165–66, pl. XXVIII; Trad and Mahmud (1984–1985) 359–61, pl. I (Cairo no. JE 97853, from Tura); Kozloff and Bryan (1992) no. 1 (Cleveland no. 84.36, a wild-bull-hunt scarab). Unpublished: San Antonio, private loan (a lion-hunt scarab, said to be from southern Lebanon). Sales: London, Sotheby's, 8 July 1991, Antiquities, no. 152 (a lion-hunt scarab); New York, NFA Classical Auctions, 11 December 1991, Scarabs and Design Amulets, nos. 115, 116, 117 (two lion-hunt scarabs and a Tiye scarab).

58. Eighteen percent of the scarabs are said to be made of hypersthene, 7 percent of schist and sericite schist. Identification of the material is reported in Blankenberg-van Delden (1969), based on the statements of the various owners. For the glazed steatite statues, see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) nos. 18–20.

59. Full five-part titulary.

60. The Cleveland scarab confirms the reading *štp* proposed by Blankenberg-van Delden; see Blankenberg-van Delden (1969) 13. For the location of this district in the Wadi el-Natrun, see Ritner (1986) 193–94.

61. The children of the nursery (*kheredu n[us] kap*) were youths raised in the royal palaces with the king's sons. Thus some, in later life, could claim to be the boyhood companions of the king. Among the children of the nursery were sons of foreign rulers. See Helck (1939) 34–36; Blankenberg-van Delden (1969) 14; Desroches Noblecourt (1976) 90; Zivie (1979) 140–41; Redford (1984) 22; Janssen and Janssen (1990) 142–43; Bryan (1991) 261–63.

bulls. The number thereof: 170 wild bulls. The number His Majesty took in hunting on this day: 56 wild bulls.

His Majesty waited four days, to give rest to his horses. His Majesty appeared in the chariot. The number of wild bulls he took in hunting: 40 wild bulls. Total of wild bulls: 96.<sup>62</sup>

The wild-bull-hunt scarab shows the youthful Amenhotep III—then in his early teens—reveling in the sporting-king tradition established earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty and exemplified by his grandfather Amenhotep II.<sup>63</sup> Big-game hunting—of lions, elephants, and wild bulls—was a favorite pastime of these monarchs. The animals were penned in while the king, splendid in his chariot, drawn by a span of magnificent horses, fired at them with arrows and javelins. It was more than just a pastime, of course. The king's success as a hunter stood for his victory on the battlefield and symbolized the triumph of order, embodied in the divine ruler, over the forces of chaos.

No less than 123 large commemorative scarabs record the number of lions—102 (variant, 110)—killed by Amenhotep III "with his own arrows" from his first regnal year up to his tenth. Five scarabs tell of the arrival in year 10 of Gilukhepa, daughter of King Šuttarna of Mitanni, and 317 women of her retinue. Gilukhepa was the first of many foreign princesses, daughters of Mitanni, Babylon, and Arzawa (in southwestern Anatolia), who would enter the king's harem. And eleven lake scarabs record the digging of an artificial lake for Queen Tiye in year 11:

Regnal year 11 under the Majesty of . . .<sup>64</sup> Amenhotep (III), ruler of Thebes, given life, and the great royal wife Tiye; may she live; her father's name is Yuya, her mother's name Tuya.

His Majesty commanded the making of a lake for the great royal wife Tiye—may she live—in her town of Djarukha.<sup>65</sup> Its length is 3,700 (cubits) and its width is 700 (cubits). (His Majesty) celebrated the Festival of Opening the Lake in the third month of Inundation, day

62. Cleveland no. 84.36; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) no. 1. For the other examples of this group, see Blankenberg-van Delden (1969) 57–61, pl. X. No. B 3, formerly in the Stern collection, is now Israel Museum, no. 76.18.244; cf. Ben-Tor (1989) 57, no. 3. No. B 4, formerly in the Bianchi collection, was auctioned in a 1992 sale: London, Christie's, 9 December 1992, "Per-neb" Collection, part 1, Highly Important Egyptian Antiquities, no. 3.

63. See Hayes (1973) 333–38.

64. Full five-part titulary.

65. For a suggested location of Djarukha near Akhmim (modern Sohag) in the Panopolite nome, see Yoyotte (1959) 23–33.



sixteen. His Majesty was rowed in the royal barge *Aten-tjehen* in it [the lake].<sup>66</sup>

*Aten-tjehen*, "the Dazzling Sun Disk," Amenhotep III's favorite epithet, makes its first appearance here in the name of the king's barge. Rebus writings of the name on jar sealings from Malqata Palace show an image of a seated god (*neb*) holding a feather (*maat*) in his hands and crowned with the solar disk (*Ra*). This image is enclosed within a larger disk, which rides in a boat over the sky sign (*pet*). Below this is the hieroglyphic sign for "dazzling" (*tjehen*), the whole spelling out "Nebmaatira is the Dazzling Sun Disk."<sup>67</sup> The sky was conceived as a vast expanse of water on which the sun god sailed in his bark by day. This is the image conjured up by the lake group of scarabs.

There remains the large group (fifty-six examples) of scarabs recording the parentage of Tiye and the limits of the Egyptian Empire. Although these were traditionally called the "marriage scarabs" and believed to refer to the king's marriage to Tiye at the beginning of his reign, the term is a misnomer, for the text says nothing about marriage, and there is no indication of a regnal date.<sup>68</sup> It begins with the full five-part titulary of Amenhotep III, followed, as on all the scarabs, by the name of his principal queen, "the great royal wife Tiye; may she live." What comes next refers specifically to the queen: "Her father's name is Yuya; her mother's name is Tuya; she is the wife of a mighty king, whose southern border is at Karoy and whose northern is (at) Naharin." The expression "from Karoy to Naharin" was already somewhat of a cliché by the time of Amenhotep III, denoting the extreme southern and northern limits of the Egyptian Empire.<sup>69</sup> The mention of the queen's parents (here and on the Gilukhepa scarab) is unparalleled in ancient Egyptian history, as is the definition of the boundaries of the realm in terms of the queen, putting her on a level with her husband. Because of this, a better name for this group would be the Tiye scarabs.<sup>70</sup>

66. Metropolitan Museum no. 35.2.1; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) no. 2. For the other examples of this series, see Blankenberg-van Delden (1969) 134–45, pls. XXX–XXXI; idem (1976) 79–80, pl. XIII.3. E 4 is now Israel Museum no. 76.18.245; cf. Ben-Tor (1989) 58, no. 6.

67. Hayes (1951) fig. 25e, f; Johnson (1990) 38–39; Berman in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 72, fig. 2a.

68. See the discussion in Blankenberg-van Delden (1969) 4–8. It appears that the idea of a "marriage scarab" goes back to Rosellini's publication and translation in 1838 (247, 267), where he misreads the element *semen hepu*, "establishing laws," in the king's Two Ladies name as "Il quale ha stabilito le sue nozze," deriving ancient Egyptian *hep*, "law," from Coptic *hop*, "marriage."

69. See Gardiner (1947) 176\*–78\*.

70. Blankenberg-van Delden (1969) 7.

Until now it has been taken for granted that the large commemorative scarabs were issued in separate series, the "marriage scarabs" in year 1, the wild-bull-hunt scarabs in year 2, the lion-hunt and Gilukhepa scarabs in year 10, and the lake scarabs in year 11. In fact, however, the variations within each individual group are the same as those of the scarabs as a whole. This suggests that they were all made at the same time, probably in the same workshop and by the same group of artisans—at least, the variations are exactly what one would expect if that were the case. Sometime, then, in the eleventh year of his rule or thereafter, Amenhotep III issued and circulated throughout the empire a group of large commemorative scarabs highlighting what he considered to be the most significant events of his rule up to that point, showing him in various—mostly youthful—roles.<sup>71</sup>

There are surprisingly few dated records of the middle years of the reign. A royal decree dated in year 20, recording the promotion of a petty temple official named Nebnefer, is valuable to us because of the other officials mentioned on it.<sup>72</sup> More important are jar labels (fragments of pottery jars with inscriptions on the shoulders in hieratic) from Malqata Palace, dated in years 20, 24, 25, 27, 28, and 29.<sup>73</sup> By the twenty-ninth year of his reign, Amenhotep III had established his residence in Thebes.

It is believed that the Eighteenth Dynasty kings spent most of their time at Memphis, the ancient capital on the west bank of the Nile (the ruins of which lie some twenty-four kilometers south of Cairo), and that they visited Thebes—the Southern City—only on the occasion of its great annual religious festival, the Feast of Opet, and on tours of inspection in Upper Egypt associated with other religious festivals.<sup>74</sup> This seems also to have been the case for Amenhotep III during the first part of his reign. What prompted him to break with tradition we do not know, but the last years of the reign were spent in Thebes, and there he celebrated his three Sed Festivals, the crowning glories of the reign.

### Amenhotep III's Sed Festivals

The Sed Festival, or jubilee, was a festival of royal regeneration, in which the king's powers were renewed and his divine nature reaffirmed. It was an ancient festival, going back to the earliest kings. Every king of Egypt was

71. See further Berman in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 68–69.

72. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire no. E. 1103; Capart and Spiegelberg (1902) 160–69; Porter and Moss (1972) 444; Breasted (1906) 380–81; *Urk.* IV 1884–86.

73. Hayes (1951) figs. 1, 4, 8–10, types 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 90, 119, 102, 120; Leahy (1978) nos. 17, 57, 58, 59.

74. Badawy (1947); Helck (1958) 5–7; van Dijk (1988) 38.



entitled to at least one, ideally celebrated after thirty years of rule, with others taking place afterward at more frequent but irregular intervals; but as most kings did not live to rule thirty years, they had to be satisfied with promises of "millions of jubilees" in the afterlife.<sup>75</sup> Amenhotep III, however, celebrated three jubilees, in his thirtieth, thirty-fourth, and thirty-seventh regnal years. He died in his thirty-eighth year; had he lived longer, he doubtless would have celebrated more (Ramses II, who reigned for sixty-seven years, celebrated a record-breaking fourteen Sed Festivals).

Despite the antiquity and importance of the Sed Festival and the hundreds of references to it in royal inscriptions of all periods, we know very little about it. Aside from those of Amenhotep III, the only detailed records we have of the ceremonies are relief cycles of the Fifth Dynasty king Neusera (ca. 2416–2392 B.C.) in his sun temple at Abu Ghurab, of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) at East Karnak, and of the Twenty-second Dynasty king Osorkon III (ca. 860–835 B.C.) at Bubastis.

Amenhotep III's three Sed Festivals were celebrated at Malqata Palace in western Thebes, called in ancient times the Per-Hay, or "House of Rejoicing," which included a temple of Amon and a festival hall specially built for the purpose.<sup>76</sup> Hundreds of jar labels discovered at the site by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1910–20 and the University Museum of Pennsylvania in 1971–74 record the delivery of provisions—mostly wine, ale, animal fat, and meat—for all three festivals.<sup>77</sup>

Scenes from or relating to the first Sed Festival are depicted at Soleb temple in the Sudan (on the back of the pylon and on the north side of the doorway between the first and second courts); on fragments of relief from the king's mortuary temple at western Thebes (Kom el-Hetan); on blocks originally from the mortuary temple and reused at Karnak (in the Khonsu temple and in the foundations of the colossus of Pinudjem I usurped from Ramses II, in front of the Second Pylon); in scenes from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu; and in the Theban tombs of Khaemhat, overseer of the two granaries (no. TT 57), and Kheruef, steward of Queen Tiye (no. TT 192).<sup>78</sup> In contrast, without the Malqata jar labels, we would have to

75. See Hornung et al. (1974); Murnane (1981) 369–76.

76. Hayes (1951) 83–84, 163–64, 177–78; Kemp and O'Connor (1974) 132–33.

77. Hayes (1951) 37–40, 82–104, figs. 4–16; Leahy (1978).

78. Soleb: Lepsius (1849–59) 3: pls. 83b, c; 84a, b; 85b, c; 86a, b. The scenes on the back of the pylon, featuring the ceremonies of "illuminating the thrones" and "striking on the city gates," depict preliminary ceremonies, which are continued in the Sed Festival scenes, properly speaking, on the north side of the doorway; see Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 108–9. Mortuary temple: Haeny (1981) 104–8, pls. 40–42. Karnak: Borchardt (1926) 37–51, pl. III; Habachi (1972) 20–23, figs. 7–9. Amenhotep son of Hapu: Robichon and Varille (1936) pl.

infer the existence of the second Sed Festival, as there are no other records of it. Episodes from the third Sed Festival figure prominently in the tomb of Kheruef.<sup>79</sup>

An enormous amount of research and planning went into the organization of these festivals. According to Kheruef,

It was His Majesty who did this in accordance with the ancient writings. Generations of men since the time of the ancestors had never celebrated Sed Festival rites, but it was commanded for [Kha]emmat, the son of Amon. . . .<sup>80</sup>

He was not exaggerating. Not since the Twelfth Dynasty (and perhaps not even then) was there a Sed Festival on the scale of Amenhotep III's.<sup>81</sup> Earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty they seem to have been perfunctory affairs, celebrated without much ado, as though the mere announcement of the Sed Festival was sufficient. Amenhotep III scoured the records of the past for precedents to reenact the festival as it was celebrated in former times. A fragment of a late predynastic or First Dynasty palette in Cairo carved with a Sed Festival scene has on the reverse a depiction of Queen Tiye.<sup>82</sup> This reuse of a fifteen-hundred-year-old monument is tangible evidence of Amenhotep III's investigation into the past. The same antiquarianism is evident in a graffito at Meidum.

Regnal year 30 under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebmaatra, the Son of Ra Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes, may he live forever as beneficent king in this whole land. The scribe May came to see this very great pyramid of the Horus . . . Sneferu . . .<sup>83</sup>

The Fourth Dynasty king Sneferu (reigned ca. 2575–2551 B.C.) was one of the most popular of Egypt's monarchs, one whose memory was ever honored. It is conceivable that the scribe made a pilgrimage to the site believed to be that of Sneferu's pyramid (nowadays the pyramid of Maidum is often attributed to Huni, Sneferu's predecessor) of his own volition, as an act

XXXV. Khaemhat: Porter and Moss (1960) 115–16 (11), 116–17 (17). Kheruef: *ibid.* 298–99 (5–6); Epigraphic Survey (1980) pls. 26–46.

79. Porter and Moss (1960) 299 (7–8); Epigraphic Survey (1980) pls. 49–63.

80. *Urk.* IV 1867, 15–16.

81. Redford (1986) 180–86.

82. Cairo no. JE 46148. An adjoining fragment is Brooklyn no. 66.175; cf. Bothmer (1969–1970) 5–8, with six figures.

83. Trans. after Rowe (1931) 45; cf. *idem* pl. XXXV, fig. 2.



of personal piety. In view of the date in year 30, however, it is tempting to believe he was sent there to examine the reliefs and inscriptions in preparation for the king's Sed Festival.

A keynote of Amenhotep III's Sed Festival scenes is the active participation of the queen, the princesses, and the officials. These scenes bear a sense of actuality ordinarily missing (for us anyway), for the participants are all named: we know these people. We might expect this in the private tombs, which naturally enough stress the role played by the tomb owner, but not on temple walls. Yet, at Soleb temple and among the reliefs from the mortuary temple, we see not only gods and goddesses but the two viziers, the "scribe of recruits" Amenhotep son of Hapu, and the scribe Nebmerutef. These and other officials proudly display on their monuments the archaic titles granted them for the occasion.<sup>84</sup>

The festivals were an occasion for lavish gift giving. The officials were rewarded with collars and bracelets of gold, amulets in the form of gold ducks and fish, and green linen fillets to tie around their heads.<sup>85</sup> There was dancing and singing, abundant food and drink.

News of the celebrations traveled far and wide. The king of Babylon, Kadašman-Enlil I, wrote to the king afterward complaining that he had not been invited or even been sent an appropriate gift; instead, his messenger had come back after six years with only thirty minas of gold.

When you celebrated a great festival, you did not send your messenger to me, saying "Come, t[o eat an]d drink." No[r you did not send me] my greeting gift in connection with the festival. It was just 30 minas of gold [that you sent me]. My [gi]ft [does not amoun]t to what [I have given you] every yea[r].<sup>86</sup>

We do not know how the king responded.

The impact of the Sed Festivals on the art production of the reign was stupendous. Scores of life-size granodiorite statues of the king and the gods were set up in all the major cult centers from the eastern Delta to the Sudan, and an unprecedented number of small-scale representations of the king were produced, which portray him in a deified state.<sup>87</sup>

84. Amenhotep son of Hapu was "hereditary prince," the viceroy of Kush Merymose and the "steward of the palace (called) 'Nebmaat' is the Dazzling Sun-Disk'" Neferssekheru were "controllers of the two thrones," Khaemhat was "priest of Anubis," and Kheruef was "controller of the palace."

85. Epigraphic Survey (1980) pl. 30.

86. Amarna Letter EA 3, trans. Moran (1992) 7.

87. E.g., Kozloff and Bryan (1992) nos. 17–23; cf. *idem* pp. 195–96.

## International Relations

According to official ideology, the pharaoh was master of the world. Just as in the writings of the Greek historians Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus the conquests of the legendary king Sesostrius were reported to have eclipsed those of Darius and Alexander the Great, so even Amenhotep III claimed sovereignty over Troy and Mycenae, Assyria and Babylon.

He (Amon) has given him the southerners as well as the northerners; the westerners and easterners hand over to him. They offer him personally their children; they come so that he may give them the breath of life.<sup>88</sup>

Rows of bound captives, foreigners, and hundreds of exotic peoples and places appear on the bases of statues, on column drums, and beneath the pharaoh's throne, pictured as "name rings"—names of foreign peoples and places enclosed within ovals representing the crenellated walls of fortresses, surmounted by busts of foreigners, their arms tied behind their backs (fig. 1.6).

The picture thus presented of worldwide Egyptian domination is greatly exaggerated. The Aegean world and the lands of the Tigris and the Euphrates were, and always remained, well outside Egypt's sphere of influence. But Egypt's international relations were more diverse, its culture was more cosmopolitan, and its position in the world was more soundly based on wealth and power during the reign of Amenhotep III than ever before (and these aspects of Egypt have rarely, if ever, been as great since). A more accurate picture of Egypt's international relations is offered us by the Amarna Letters. Covering about thirty years, the correspondence begins around year 30 of Amenhotep III and ends no later than Tutankhamen's year 3, when the king and the court left Amarna.<sup>89</sup> The letters are written on clay tablets in cuneiform script in the Akkadian language.

The 350 letters are divided for the sake of convenience into two groups: those involving independent foreign rulers dealing with Egypt on a roughly equal basis, and the far larger group, those concerning the petty local rulers in Syria-Palestine, for the most part vassals of Egypt. The vast majority are letters received, but a few are from the king of Egypt, presumably copies (or drafts) of letters that were sent abroad. We have letters from Amenhotep III to the king of Babylon and the king of Arzawa (in western Anatolia) and

88. *Urk.* IV 1662, 19–1663, 2.

89. See Moran (1992) xxxiv–xxxv.



letters to Amenhotep III from these rulers and from the king of Mitanni. These foreign rulers address Amenhotep III cordially as “my brother” and call him by his praenomen, Nebmaatra, spelled variously in cuneiform as Nibmuareya and Nimmureya, Mimmareya, and Immureya. (The name Amenhotep, which is never used to refer to the king but is only used to refer to private persons bearing that name, comes out in cuneiform as Amanhatpe.) The vassal rulers, in contrast, never address the king directly by name (so we do not always know whether they mean Amenhotep III, Amenhotep IV, or Tutankhamen); they address him only, with due reverence, as “my sun, my lord.”

From the content of these letters it would seem that the primary interest of the king of Egypt was in acquiring foreign princesses, and that the focus of the foreign rulers was Egyptian gold. In his tenth regnal year, Amenhotep III had already taken to wife Gilukhepa, the daughter of Šuttarna, king of Mitanni, and twenty years later, we see him either bargaining for or already married to her niece Tadukhepa, the daughter of Tušratta; two Babylonian princesses; and the daughter of the king of Arzawa.<sup>90</sup> We do not know what happened to these ladies once they arrived in Egypt. Tušratta continues to send his sister and his daughter his greetings.<sup>91</sup> But Kadašman-Enlil I, king of Babylon, had—or pretended to have—reservations about sending Amenhotep III his daughter to wed, since for years he had not had any news of his sister, already married to Amenhotep III. He wrote:

Here you are asking for my daughter in marriage, but my sister whom my father gave you was (already) there with you, and nobody has seen her (so as to know) if now she is alive or if she is dead.

Amenhotep III replied:

Did you, however, ever send here a dignitary of yours who knows your sister, who could speak with her and identify her? Suppose he spoke with her. The men whom you sent here are nobodies. One was the [ . . . ] of Zaqara, [the ot]her, an assherder . . . [fr]om [ . . . ] There has been no one among the[m wh]o [knows her, wh]o was an intimate of your father, and w[ho could identify her].

And he assured him that his sister was indeed alive and well at the time of his writing.<sup>92</sup>

90. See Schulman (1979) 177–93, esp. 179–80, 183–84.

91. Amarna Letters EA 17, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29.

92. Amarna Letter EA 1, trans. Moran (1992) 1.

It was another story when the king of Babylon asked for a daughter of Egypt. “From time immemorial no daughter of a king of Egy[pt] is given to anyone” was the reply. “Why n[ot]?” asked the king of Babylon, arguing,

You are a king, you d[o] as you please. . . . [Someone’s] grown daughters, beautiful women, must be available. Send me a beautiful woman as if she were [you]r daughter. Who is going to say, “She is no daughter of the king!”<sup>93</sup>

But that was exactly the point. For Egypt it was a matter of prestige, and the traffic in princesses remained decidedly one way.

These marriages were an instrumental part of Amenhotep III’s foreign policy, whereby he cemented alliances with foreign powers and at the same time maintained—indeed augmented—his position as the premier ruler in the ancient Near East. They were accompanied by lavish exchanges of gifts of raw and manufactured goods—precious metals, horses, lapis lazuli, furniture, and cosmetic equipment—on both sides. The constant demand was for gold, of which Egypt was held to possess an inexhaustible supply: Aššuruballit, king of Assyria wrote, “Gold in your country is dirt; one simply gathers it up.”<sup>94</sup> Quite a scandal ensued when the amount delivered fell short of expectations. Loud were the complaints when, instead of the solid gold statues that had been promised him by Amenhotep III, Tušratta of Mitanni received only gold-plated statues from Amenhotep IV.<sup>95</sup>

Relations between Amenhotep III and his brother-in-law Tušratta (about to become his father-in-law as well) were particularly close. In the thirty-sixth year of his reign, Amenhotep III received a letter from Tušratta in which the latter announced that he was sending along the image of the goddess Ishtar (Šauška) of Nineveh for a visit:

Thus Šauška of Nineveh, mistress of all lands: “I wish to go to Egypt, a country that I love, and then return.”

Reference is made to a similar occasion in the reign of Tušratta’s father when Ishtar had made a visit to Egypt. He concludes,

93. Amarna Letter EA 4, trans. Moran (1992) 8–9.

94. Amarna Letter EA 16, trans. Moran (1992) 39. Cf. Amarna Letters EA 19, 20, 27, 29; Moran (1992) 44, 48, 89, 96.

95. Amarna Letters EA 26, 27, 29; Moran (1992) 85, 87–88, 94–97; Simpson (1990) 82–83.



May Šauška, the mistress of heaven, protect us, my brother and me, a 100,000 years, and may our mistress grant both of us great joy. And let us act as friends. Is Šauška for me alone my god(dess), and for my brother not his god(dess)?<sup>96</sup>

Ishtar was a well-known goddess of healing, but rather than having been sent, as formerly believed, at Amenhotep III's request, to cure the king of toothache (examination of his mummy—if it is indeed the right mummy—reveals what must have been most painful abscesses in the teeth), it is more likely, as Moran suggests, that the goddess was sent to Egypt to shed her blessings on the wedding of Amenhotep III and Tadukhepa, as she had done previously for Amenhotep III and Gilukhepa.<sup>97</sup>

Under Amenhotep III there were no military campaigns in western Asia. The "Dazzling Sun Disk of all lands" was in fact a master diplomat. The general picture that emerges is of a balance of power carefully maintained by all parties, all of whom profited by the peace secured by mutual alliances and supported by a flourishing exchange of goods.

### The End of the Reign

Amenhotep III's highest regnal date is year 38 on jar-label inscriptions from Malqata Palace.<sup>98</sup> In that year or the next, he died and was buried in his magnificent tomb (KV 22) in the west branch of the Valley of the Kings. Very likely he had not yet reached the age of fifty. He was succeeded by his son Amenhotep IV, better known to history as Akhenaten.

More has already been written about Akhenaten than any other pha-

96. Amarna Letter EA 23, trans. Moran (1992) 61–62. The letter is inscribed below the cuneiform text with a hieratic inscription stating that the letter was received in "regnal year 36, the fourth month of Winter, day 1, while His Majesty was in the Southern City, in the House of Rejoicing (Malqata Palace)." The tablet is illustrated in Aldred (1988) pl. 13.

97. Moran (1992) 62 n. 2: "One explanation of the goddess's visit is that she was to heal the aged and ailing Egyptian king, but this explanation rests purely on analogy and finds no support in this letter. . . . More likely, it seems, is a connection with the solemnities associated with the marriage of Tushratta's daughter." For the earlier view, see Hayes (1973) 346: "In his thirty-sixth year on the throne the pharaoh's infirmities, which included painful abscesses in his teeth, had become so acute that his 'brother,' King Tushratta, was prevailed upon to send him an image of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh famous for its healing powers"; this view is also maintained by Redford (1984) 52, 54.

98. Hayes (1951) 87–88, figs. 7, 11, label types 61, 62, 142, 143, 144 (16 examples); Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 39, fig. II.4.

raoh.<sup>99</sup> Appropriate to this discussion, however, is the question of a coregency. In recent times Cyril Aldred has been the strongest advocate of a long period of joint rule—twelve years or more—between the two kings.<sup>100</sup> The theory now has a persuasive advocate in Raymond Johnson, with strong support from Claude Vandersleyen.<sup>101</sup> It is significant that the proponents of the coregency theory have tended to be art historians, whereas historians have largely remained unconvinced.<sup>102</sup> Recognizing that the problem admits no easy solution, the present writer has gradually come to believe that it is unnecessary to propose a coregency to explain the production of art in the reign of Amenhotep III. Rather, the perceived problems appear to derive from the interpretation of mortuary objects.<sup>103</sup>

Queen Tiye survived her husband's death, perhaps by as long as twelve years, her prestige undiminished. Amarna Letter EA 26, in which Tušratta of Mitanni recalls his long friendship with her husband Amenhotep III and avows that he feels even "ten times more" friendly toward her son Amenhotep IV (before going on to complain about those gold-plated statues), is actually addressed to her. A number of objects from Kom Medinet Ghurab (Fayum) and thereabouts date from this period and were commissioned by the queen and her circle. They reflect the queen's image, as she was portrayed not in her husband's lifetime but only after his death.<sup>104</sup> Whether she continued to reside at Thebes, went north to the Fayum, or eventually moved to Amarna is not known. She certainly visited Amarna and even had a house there. Scenes in the tomb of Huya, "steward in the house of the king's mother, the great royal wife Tiye," show her at the dinner table with Akhenaten and family and being escorted by him to her "sunshade."<sup>105</sup>

Sarcophagus fragments bearing Tiye's name have been found in the royal tomb at Amarna, but it is doubtful she was buried there.<sup>106</sup> It seems it was originally intended that Tiye be buried with her husband, but since he had predeceased her, it is unlikely that the tomb would have been reopened to

99. To paraphrase Simpson in Hallo and Simpson (1971) 268. Martin (1991b) contains 2,013 titles. Two very different versions of Akhenaten and his reign are presented by Redford (1984) and Aldred (1988); for a review article, see Eaton-Krauss (1990) 541–59.

100. Most recently in Aldred (1988) chap. 16, "The Question of a Co-Regency."

101. Johnson (1990) 26–46, with pls. 10–12; but see Romano (1990) 47–54 (in the same book as Johnson), with pl. 13; Vandersleyen (1988) 9–30.

102. Campbell (1964), esp. 6–30; Redford (1967) 88–169; Murnane (1977) 123–69, 231–33.

103. E.g., Kozloff and Bryan (1992) nos. 27, 29.

104. Ibid. nos. 26, 27, 50, 51.

105. Davies (1905) pls. IV, VI, VIII, IX; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 60, fig. II.15.

106. Martin (1976) 27–28, 105.



receive another body, even that of the queen.<sup>107</sup> Items of her tomb equipment—including a magnificent gold-covered shrine—were found in tomb 55 in the Valley of the Kings, though the sole body found in the tomb is generally agreed to be male rather than female.<sup>108</sup> The body of an old woman (the so-called Elder Lady) found in the tomb of Amenhotep II has recently been identified as hers.<sup>109</sup> If true, then Tiye was at last buried with her husband, for his mummy was discovered there among those in the second great royal cache.

Why there were royal caches is another story. Until the end of the New Kingdom, Egyptian kings continued to be buried in the Valley of the Kings. Although under police protection, all that buried treasure was irresistible. The violated tomb of Thutmose IV, for example, was restored around 1312 B.C. by a royal commission headed by the overseer of the treasury, Maya.<sup>110</sup> Break-ins, however, were rare until the latter part of the Twentieth Dynasty, when they suddenly proliferated, due, no doubt, to the troubled times. Then, however, the situation became so bad that the kings of the Twenty-first Dynasty (who chose to be buried at Tanis in the Delta instead) ordered the local authorities to remove the royal mummies from their separate tombs and hide them where they could be better protected. In the process, they were stripped of their remaining valuables.<sup>111</sup> Rewrapped and relabeled, the mummies were placed in new or refurbished coffins (which were also labeled) and reburied. In 1881 a group of royal mummies was discovered in a well-concealed private tomb at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>112</sup> In 1898 a second cache of royal mummies was found in the tomb of Amenhotep II, with the mummy of Amenhotep III in a side chamber, in a coffin box originally made for Ramses

107. Reeves (1990b) 39, 43. However, *shabti* fragments inscribed for Tiye found in KV 22 are executed in a style that seems to postdate Amenhotep III's reign, perhaps indicating that she had been buried there: see Reeves and Taylor (1992) 125 *below* (Highclere Castle no. H 91); Kondo (1992) 46–47, pl. VII. For the date of these shawabty fragments in Amenhotep IV's reign, see Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 328.

108. Davis et al. (1910). The literature on the tomb and its contents, mostly focusing on the identity of its eventual occupant, is extensive, with little agreement. See most recently Reeves (1990b) 42–49; M.R. Bell (1990) 97–137.

109. J.E. Harris et al. (1978) 1149–51; disputed by Germer (1984) 85–90.

110. Reeves (1990b) 36. This is the famous Maya, overseer of the treasury under Tutankhamen and Horemheb, whose tomb was rediscovered in 1986 at Saqqara; see Martin (1991a) 147–88.

111. Taylor (1992) 186–206.

112. The tomb (TT 320), which contained the mummies of Seqenenra, Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Thutmose III, Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III, had actually been discovered some ten years before by the Abd el-Rassul family, but it was not until 1881 that its location was made known to the Egyptian Antiquities Service.

III, with a lid made over for Seti II but relabeled Amenhotep III.<sup>113</sup> All the royal mummies (except for Tutankhamen, who still reposes in his tomb) are now in the Cairo Museum.

113. Daressy (1909) pl. LXI, no. CG 61036. Also found there were the tomb owner Amenhotep II himself (still in his quartzite sarcophagus, but not in his original gold-covered coffins), Thutmose IV, Merenptah, Seti II, Siptah, Ramses IV, Ramses V, Ramses VI, three women (including the "Elder Lady"), and a child.



## Chapter 2

### Antecedents to Amenhotep III

*Betsy M. Bryan*

The decades preceding the accession of Amenhotep III prepared the ground for that king's productivity and innovation. Hatshepsut, as a coregent with her nephew and stepson, Thutmose III, supported the construction of major temples for the glorification of the kingship. Thutmose III, as a sole ruler, proclaimed the strength of Egypt as a military force. His yearly expeditions in the Levant and Nubia brought power, wealth, and an increasing multicultural complexity into the Nile Valley. Amenhotep II, a sharp militarist in his early years of rule, apparently achieved a peace, at least temporarily, with his rivals in Syria, which allowed him time and resources to build monuments at home.<sup>1</sup> During a rule of around thirty years in length, Amenhotep II developed a style of rule related to, but nonetheless different from, that of his father, Thutmose III. Unlike his father, Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV abandoned the image of the great military king. Thutmose IV created the peacetime Egypt that Amenhotep II only promised. Thutmose's military campaigns were limited to a "first campaign of victory" in Syria and a brief repression at Gezer. He achieved a lasting peace with the Mitanni (if this had not already been done by Amenhotep II) and married the daughter of the Syrian ruler to seal the new friendship between kings. The reign of this ruler best illustrates Egypt's transition from an expedition-based aggressive power into a stable hegemonic royal state with interests better suited to treaties and diplomatic solutions than to military exploits. Following a brief survey of ideological trends in the Eighteenth Dynasty generally and a summary of the reign of Amenhotep II, an outline of Thutmose IV's rule will attempt to expose in various levels of relief the indications of Amenhotep III's coming rule.

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1. Manuelian (1987) 45-98; Redford (1992) 160-69.



### The Eighteenth Dynasty Legacy: Relationships of King and God

The Sphinx stela of Thutmose IV (fig. 2.1) related a prophetic dream that the king had while yet a prince. While he slept in the shade of the statue of the great Sphinx, the sun god Horemakhet, identified by the Egyptians with the Sphinx, told Thutmose that if he were to remove the statue from the sand, the god would make him pharaoh. This romantic story from the Sphinx stela, like other Eighteenth Dynasty royal inscriptions, emphasizes divine determination and birth for kings.<sup>2</sup> So it is that Hatshepsut, followed by Thutmose III,<sup>3</sup> used the same mode of appointment as did Thutmose IV—that is, the divine oracle. The rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty, without exception, termed themselves offspring of gods (fig. 2.2).<sup>4</sup> Amenhotep II's lengthy prologue to his own Sphinx stela makes him the son of at least six deities (most notably, Amon), while Thutmose IV claimed to be the "son of Atum of his body" at the same time that Horemakhet chose him as ruler. Visual demonstration of divine kingship appears in temple scenes<sup>5</sup> of the gods themselves engendering, birthing, and suckling the pharaoh.

Kings sometimes claimed their succession by both divine and earthly origins in the same text: in the coronation text of Hatshepsut, Amon boasts of his daughter before the gods, and Thutmose I likewise proclaims her kingship to his people.<sup>6</sup> The same is true in Amenhotep II's Sphinx stela, where the gods are given ultimate credit for the king's right to rule, but where Thutmose III also recognizes his son's destiny to rule.<sup>7</sup>

Since scholars have been satisfied that Amenhotep II was his father's choice,<sup>8</sup> they accept the description of his appointment on his Sphinx stela as

2. E.g., Hornung (1957) 120–33; Moftah (1985) 99–117, esp. 105.

3. *Urk.* IV 157–61. See Redford (1967) 74–76.

4. Ahmose, *Urk.* IV 14; Thutmose I, *Urk.* IV 86, 96; Thutmose II, *Urk.* IV 139; Thutmose III, *Urk.* IV 610–19; Amenhotep II, *Urk.* IV 1276 ff.; Thutmose IV, *Urk.* IV 1540, 20. Hornung discussed this aspect of the royal role in the Eighteenth Dynasty and cited Thutmose IV several times as an example of the "divine seed"; see Hornung (1957) 130–31. This emphasis is evident from the Fourth Dynasty on and shows intensification with the description of Sesostri I on the Berlin Leather Roll and Eighteenth Dynasty hieratic copy; cf. Lichtheim (1973) 115–18. Sesostri I is termed the son of Horakhty: "He begat me to do what should be done for him." See also Helck (1969) 312–17; Helck identified Thutmose IV as part of this trend.

5. For divine-birth relief scenes and texts of Hatshepsut, see PM 2:347–50; *Urk.* IV 215–34. For a Hathor cow suckling Amenhotep II in a shrine at Deir el-Bahri, see PM 2:380. See also PM 2:585 (index).

6. *Urk.* IV 243, 255–58.

7. *Urk.* IV 1281 ff.; Manuelian (1987) 182–88; Lichtheim (1976) 39–43.

8. Redford (1965) 107–22. Most scholars believe there was a brief coregency of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II: see recently Wentz and Van Siclen (1976) 227; most recently, with literature cited and carefully assessed, Manuelian (1987), esp. 39–40.

historical documentation.<sup>9</sup> However, since it is known that Hatshepsut did not actually succeed her father as pharaoh (although her near equal status with Thutmose II on Karnak monuments suggests she may have shared power with her husband),<sup>10</sup> her coronation text is often read as a purely legitimating fiction.<sup>11</sup> Such historical interpretation ignores the purpose of these texts, which was to illustrate that the divine source of rule has been rightly bestowed on the gods' choices. The additional royal recognition implies the intermediary role of the king relaying the divine decisions to mortals.<sup>12</sup> The motif of divine appointment effectively negated the issue of usurpation, for Hatshepsut was determined as ruler in the same manner as other kings. The scenes and texts illustrated that the pharaohs' fitness to rule had been divinely recognized.

Nonetheless, kings did choose different roles to accentuate when displaying themselves in association with the gods. It is interesting to note the different emphases of Hatshepsut vis-à-vis those of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II in their embellishments of Karnak temple. Hatshepsut stressed her piety, ritual correctness, and obedience to Amon. She erected obelisks between the Fourth and Fifth Pylons and inscribed them for Amon-Ra. She wished to improve the god's earthly home inasmuch as he had designated her as ruler. In reference to her providing obelisks in the temple of Karnak, the queen's dedication on the north obelisk base reads in part:

I did this with a loving heart for my father Amon, after or when I entered before his secret image of the first occasion [corresponding to creation], and after I became wise by his excellent power. I did not neglect a deed that he determined. My Majesty knows that he is divine. I have thus done according to his command, for he is the one who leads me. Never shall I devise projects that are not from his doing. For he it is who gives instructions.<sup>13</sup>

Redesigning the entrance for Karnak by the building of her pylon on the north-south axis (fig. 2.3), Hatshepsut stressed the link of Karnak to Luxor

9. Redford (1965) 117; Steindorff and Seele (1957) 67; Manuelian (1987) 189–90.

10. Dorman (1988).

11. See Kemp (1989) 200 for this same point: "To dismiss the sources as propaganda misses the point, particularly if it implied that they differ in purpose from documents from other reigns." However, even recent sources make reference to the legitimating force of Hatshepsut's inscriptions: Seipel (1977b) 1045; Ruffle (1977) 66.

12. Bryan (1989) 582.

13. *Urk.* IV 363; Breasted (1906) 131. See A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3d ed. (Oxford, 1969) 334; cited 358 n. 36.



temple to the south, where she inaugurated a new ritual (the Opet) to celebrate an annual rebirth of the king through Amon-Ra. The Karnak quartzite chapel also emphasized the Opet and a second festival, the Beautiful Feast of the Valley. Both honored the god and the ruler. The so-called Hatshepsut suite, rooms surrounding the Karnak bark chapel, further demonstrated Hatshepsut's devotion. The suite contains scenes of Hatshepsut consecrating sacrificial victims, offering to the god a variety of valuable and rare items, and being purified by deities.<sup>14</sup>

Thutmose III and Amenhotep II (at least in his early years) capitalized on their effectiveness as conquerors on Amon-Ra's behalf (fig. 2.3). Their gigantic images dominate pylon and wall surfaces where are recounted the names of the regions whose tribute the kings returned to Karnak (fig. 2.4).<sup>15</sup> On the court wall behind the Sixth Pylon and on the exterior walls of the northern Hatshepsut suite, facing the bark shrine, Thutmose III left his own image donating obelisks and statues to Amon-Ra, along with inscriptions detailing the booty of seventeen years of Levantine wars to endow the gifts. There is little here of the humble piety that Hatshepsut exhibited.<sup>16</sup> Thutmose's annals rather emphasize the action of the ruler on behalf of the god. Following the enumeration of his wars, the booty and tribute therefrom, and the temple offerings he endowed as a result, the king states the following:

Indeed, My Majesty made every monument, every law, and every regulation that I made for my father Amon-Ra, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, foremost of Karnak, because I so well know his power. I am wise in his excellence resting within my body. I know [lacuna] [I not neglecting] what he commanded to do, consisting of the things that he desired to happen, and of all things that his *ka* loves. I shall do them for him according as he commands. My heart controls me, my hands performing for my father who fashioned me, doing every excellent thing for my father [Amon].<sup>17</sup>

14. Quartzite chapel, PM 2:64–71; Hatshepsut suite, PM 2:103–7. The Opet is first known in the reign of Hatshepsut. See Mumane (1982) 574–79.

15. Thutmose III on Pylon Seven, south face, smiting Asiatics, PM 2:170; Amenhotep II on south face of Pylon Eight (erased from Hatshepsut) smiting captives, PM 2:175. On masonry placed around Hatshepsut obelisks in Wadjyt Hall between Pylons Four and Five: Amenhotep II names, PM 2:83; Fifth Pylon name rings of Thutmose III, PM 2:85. On the Sixth Pylon: Battle of Megiddo, Thutmose III smiting and northern name rings, PM 2:88.

16. The Annals of Thutmose III, PM 2:89–90; *Urk.* IV 723 ff.

17. *Urk.* IV 750–51; Breasted (1906) 225.

Thutmose III did not redirect the theological focus of Karnak, as had his stepmother. Rather he built a pylon between her southern one and the central axis. This provided not a new entryway to the temple but a sizable court in which to celebrate his own victories and erect monuments. The festival hall that he built behind the central court of Karnak largely centers on a cult of the king himself, in the context of cults of deified deceased rulers generally. Although this would not be unexpected in a jubilee building, the area was already dedicated to cults of earlier kings. Thutmose III dwarfed these earlier efforts, many those of Hatshepsut.<sup>18</sup>

Since Thutmose III had made Amenhotep II coregent with him a bit more than two years before he died, the throne succession was secure.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps because the early reign of Thutmose III had not been quite so undisturbed, however, evidence suggests that Amenhotep II, with his father, carried out a program to destroy the memory of Hatshepsut.<sup>20</sup> The royal announcement of Amenhotep's coregency with Thutmose III on Amenhotep II's Sphinx stela may have been the signal that the dishonoring of Hatshepsut's line was legitimate. Even the pylon she built at Karnak, creating a new southern doorway to the great precinct, Amenhotep II erased and redecorated with his own image smiting the enemies of Egypt. Here too, before the remodeled pylon face, he erected a large granite stela carved with the "annals" of his expeditions to Syria in years 7 and 9 of his reign.<sup>21</sup> The careful detailing of captives taken and booty brought as a result of these campaigns, together with the great smiting scene on the pylon, served, in part, as Amenhotep II's statement to Amon-Ra that he had performed well for the god.

Regardless of the historical significance of these monarchs' efforts, Hatshepsut emerges from the Theban monuments as the dutiful son (or daughter) of Amon (one of her commonest epithets) who created monuments to illustrate her origin from and devotion to the god, and Thutmose III and Amenhotep II appear as the powerful and legitimate young rulers emulating

18. See esp. Golvin and Goyon (1987) 44–48; Lauffray (1979) 50–63. The bark shrine is published in Lacau and Chevrier (1977). For earlier work, see literature cited in P. Dorman (1988) 57–60 and list of buildings in n. 72.

19. Manuelian (1987) 19 ff.

20. Van Siclen (1984) 53.

21. PM 2:177; *Urk.* IV 1310–16. The stela bears a dedication by Thutmose IV who did restoration work in front of this pylon. The stela was actually entirely recarved by Seti I following an apparent Amarna mutilation. This restoration may have been coincident with the transport of the Amenhotep II "Sed Festival" chapel from here before the pylon to its present location to the southeast, between Pylons Nine and Ten; cf. Van Siclen (1990) 75–90. The twin "Memphis" stela had nearly the same inscription on it; cf. *Urk.* IV 1300–1309.



Harendotes—Horus protector of his father—who show the god what they have done for him. The difference is a distinct one and not at all irrelevant to the main focus of this volume, Amenhotep III. For this later king imitated the model left by Hatshepsut, and he explored and very nearly accomplished her original plan to bring the southern temples of Thebes into a cultic cycle with Karnak. The vision of the king as pious offspring gradually superseded that of the conquering defender, but only to be transmogrified into the image of Amenhotep III as both god and king who shared in the rituals he himself piously established.<sup>22</sup>

### Amenhotep II: The Athlete and Soldier Makes Peace

The legacy of Thutmose III for the decades before Amenhotep III was enormous. The preceding forty years of military campaigns influenced Amenhotep II's public—that is, monumental—persona. The king's devotion to Giza was ideologically connected to his military prowess, for it was near there that he had practiced archery and equestrianism.<sup>23</sup> His Giza monuments display this emphasis, and those of his sons left at their father's temple likewise venerate Amenhotep II, the perfect military ruler. Manuelian's discussion of Amenhotep II as an athlete and militarist confirms him as "the most vigorous advocate of athletic endeavors." His multiple records of an archery display, while not entirely original to Amenhotep, strongly indicate his enthusiasm. In addition, his claims of excellence in equestrianism and boating (i.e., control of the steering oar) are most unusual and therefore suggest a degree of historical accuracy—albeit with perhaps some exaggeration.<sup>24</sup> Decker's study of Amenhotep II's Sphinx stela argued that the use of athletic topoi was largely due to the importance of a ritualized youthful virility for a ruler at his coronation.<sup>25</sup> On his Sphinx stela Amenhotep II combined a description of himself as athlete and equestrian together with his appointment as king. Rulers ideally possessed such virile attributes, and in sacred settings they sometimes appear running (Sed Festival) or lion and bull fighting or hunting. Whether the kings were in fact able to perform such physical feats is unknown for the most part, but the evidence strongly suggests that Amenhotep II was a true athlete. For this reason Manuelian felt that Decker had overemphasized the ritual function of athletics.<sup>26</sup>

22. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 96–97.

23. Manuelian (1987) 191–214.

24. Ibid.

25. Decker (1977) 1–20.

26. Manuelian (1987) 191–213.

On the Sphinx stela Amenhotep II boasted of his boating,<sup>27</sup> running, horsemanship, and archery. All of these can be linked to rituals that confirm the king's fitness to rule. For example, in a religious context, the oar alluded to the boat of the sun god in which the king controlled the steering. That most of the sports he claims to have mastered have a ritual—that is, mythological—meaning should not surprise us. Indeed, the religious import of athletics no doubt encouraged physical activities of various sorts. The sacred nature of the "games" was culturally determined—there was no truly secular setting for "sports." One of Amenhotep II's military elites claims to have been noticed by the king because he so skillfully held the steering oar. Tomb paintings and inscriptions inform us that elites of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty considered chariot hunting of large game to have been a highly prestigious sport.<sup>28</sup> That excellence in these endeavors was genuinely appreciated cannot be in doubt, but neither can the intentional connection of the king's sporting abilities to his fitness to rule.

In addition to his athleticism, Amenhotep's militarism is apparent on his monuments. I have already referred to his smiting scenes at Karnak. It is impossible to date the decoration of many monuments, but the theme of Amenhotep as military protector and benefactor for Egypt was prominent throughout them. If he had desired to refocus entirely this image, then certainly he would have. Rather he chose to maintain but enrich it, for evidence suggests that Amenhotep II did strike a peace with the Mitanni enemies in Syria.

Amenhotep II ruled for at least twenty-six years but did not campaign in Syria after his ninth year of sole rule. It is possible that he had made peace with the Mitanni ruler after his second campaign<sup>29</sup> (third, if his Takhsy expedition is included),<sup>30</sup> just as he might have had diplomatic relations with Hatti and Babylon. The columned hall in Karnak, located between

27. See *ibid.* Manuelian does not believe that this activity has a mythological symbolism. He himself established that it was an activity not of rowing but of steering control. In fact, the steering position is taken by kings who place themselves at the helm of divine boats. See Amenhotep III, e.g., on the Third Pylon, east side, as he rows the god Amon-Ra to Luxor temple for the Opet Festival; cf. PM 2:61.

28. Amenemhab boasted of his boating capability in TT 85; see Manuelian (1987) 193. In the tomb of Royal Scribe Userhet (TT 56, "tempus Amenhotep II"), the hunting scene strongly recalls Amenhotep II's own Karnak stela showing him piercing copper ingots from his chariot. For TT 56, see Beinlich-Seeber and Shedid (1987) pl. 12; cf. PM 2:79.

29. See Klengel (1965) 39; Drower (1973) 461–62. Helck raised the possibility but felt that only a Mitanni "peace-feeler" was made to Amenhotep II. Givon insisted there was no peace, and he relied on Edel's belief that Amenhotep used only a literary convention in his texts. Kühne followed Helck. See Helck (1971) 161–62; Givon (1978) 54; Kühne (1973) 20 n. 85.

30. Manuelian (1987) 47–55; Murnane (1990) 82.



the Fourth and Fifth Pylons, contained inscriptions mentioning a diplomatic reception of the Mitanni. Column inscriptions from Karnak refer to the chiefs of Mitanni (*wrw Mtn*) asking for "the sweet breath of life" and say that all lands sought such a favor from Amenhotep II.<sup>31</sup> But in addition to the columns, the Memphis stela of the king ends with a description of the visitation by the chiefs of Mitanni, Hatti and Babylon (written *p3 wr* to demonstrate these were the kings, not vassals) "to request peace from his Majesty" and again "the breath of life."<sup>32</sup> If a diplomatic connection existed between the king and his northern neighbors, these two inscriptions may be allusions to it couched in the vague language of monumental religious texts.

The phrases used (*dbh htpw*<sup>33</sup> and *rdit t3w 'n nh*) are those that consistently appear in monumental contexts when reference to diplomatic relations occurs during the New Kingdom.<sup>34</sup> Lorton argued that the term *breath of life* referred to a request for an oath of loyalty in a juridical sense. Liverani argued, in contrast, that this is merely a term symbolizing "life" and referring in an ideological sense to the king as provider to the world. He rejected any attempt to see nuance in the monumental language. However, it is entirely characteristic of Egyptian sacred inscriptions to combine the mundane with the religious, as the discussion of Amenhotep II as sporting king attests.

The phrases used of other "Great Kings"—that is, the Mitanni, Hittite, and Babylonian rulers—stated that they "requested peace from His Majesty in quest of giving to them the breath of life."<sup>35</sup> In settings where there is a "small king" before the Great King (e.g., after the siege of Megiddo), this phrase of "requesting peace" does not occur, but there instead is the request for breath (of life).<sup>36</sup> One way of indicating that there was no formal relationship, either vassal or otherwise, between the foreign state and Egypt was the addition of the phrase *hm Kmt*, "ignorant of Egypt." This designation distinguished members of a diplomatic delegation to Tutankhamun's court as depicted in the tomb of his viceroy Huy. There three sets of Syrian rulers,

31. *Urk.* IV 1326.

32. *Urk.* IV 1309, 13–18; Bryan forthcoming.

33. See Liverani (1990) 145, following Lorton. In an otherwise excellent book, Liverani has rather misunderstood the term and has assumed its presence in contexts in which it does not actually appear.

34. See esp. Liverani (1990) 231–39, contra Lorton (1974) 136–47. More recent discussions of the subtleties and possibilities of hieroglyphic writing (certainly a limited language when compared with Akkadian, for example) in Bleiberg (1996) and Spalinger (1996).

35. *Urk.* IV 1309, 17–18. Note that Liverani has incorrectly translated *r sb.tw* as "in return for" when it means "in quest of"; cf. Liverani (1990) 231. They do *not* request peace in return for breath of life.

36. *Urk.* IV 662–63.

perhaps newly added to the Egyptian sphere of influence, appear. The first text says:

the chiefs of Upper Retenu who have been ignorant of Egypt since the time of the God are requesting peace from His Majesty. . . . They say: Give us the breath of your giving and then we will relate your victories.

The second text says:

All the chiefs of far away countries who are in communication (*imy wpt*) to the Pharaoh say: How great is your fame O Good god. . . . Give to us the breath of your giving and we then will relate your victories.

The third text states:

The chiefs who have been ignorant of Egypt since the time of the God are requesting peace from His Majesty.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to this rather clear case of distinguishing kinglets according to their relationship to Egypt, the same tomb shows Nubian rulers bringing deliveries.

Chiefs of Kush say: How great is your fame O Good god. . . . Give to us the breath of your giving and we [shall cause] that your voice be true.<sup>38</sup>

The terms meaning the opposite of *dbh htpw* might be seen in *rdit htpw n*, "to make submission to," *iri htpw*, and *in htpw*.<sup>39</sup> Since the word *htpw* has its source in a word meaning a variety of things, including "offering" and "propitiation," the preceding phrases probably literally meant "request offerings," "give offerings to," "make offerings," and "bring offerings." In the case of the equal or nonvassal state, then, they are shown bringing presents to the sovereign of Egypt and "requesting offerings" at the same time. This direct request from the gift-giving initiator for a gift in return might well be seen, even in an ideological world where the pharaoh is at the

37. *Urk.* IV 2070. Another culture referred to as "ignorant of Egypt" was Punt, and they too "requested peace" from Hatshepsut, *Urk.* IV 324.

38. *Urk.* IV 2071; Bleiberg (1996) 106.

39. Faulkner (1981) 180; *Urk.* IV 975; Erman and Grapow (1929) 191–93.



center of all world sustenance, as the instigation of diplomatic relations.<sup>40</sup> Although this by no means demonstrates the existence of a treaty between Egypt and the Mitanni, Hittites, and Babylonians as early as the reign of Amenhotep II, it does strongly suggest a nonhostile diplomatic exchange and certainly would support any other argument favoring treaties during this period.

It is tempting to see these two mentions of relations with the Mitanni as reflections of Amenhotep II's changing image. The Memphis stela, on the one hand, recorded a military victory and therefore identified the diplomatic delegation with the Egyptian king's victory over Syria. The Karnak jubilee hall inscription, on the other hand, was among the king's last monuments, mentioning as it does hopes for the second jubilee and utilizing an elaborate style known only from festival monuments. It most certainly was not a monument that illustrated Amenhotep II as victorious military king<sup>41</sup> but rather was intended to associate him with various gods. The king was perhaps portrayed as the great sun god receiving recognition from his subjects throughout the world, the emphasis being on the divinity of Amenhotep's kingship. This was certainly the meaning such gatherings took on in the reigns of Amenhotep III through Tutankhamun.<sup>42</sup>

If Amenhotep had diplomatic relations with the Mitanni, he would not have had more need to campaign in Syria. This interpretation is consistent with the peace in Asia after year 9, and Redford has recently agreed.<sup>43</sup> As for the mention of Hatti in the Karnak inscription, could this be a reference to the elusive treaty referred to in the plague prayers of Muršili II?<sup>44</sup> Houwink Ten Cate argued that the treaty predated the reign of Tušratta, since it was probably breached by Šuppiluliuma due to the Mitanni ruler's aggression toward Kadesh. The reigns of Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV have been suggested as dates.<sup>45</sup>

40. See Liverani (1990) 255–67 on gift giving; Spalinger (1996).

41. Van Siclen (1990) 75–90.

42. *Urk.* IV 2069, tomb of Huy. The tomb owner leading in the Syrian tribute says to the king: "Your father Amon protects you with millions of Sed Festivals. . . . You are Ra; your image is his image. You are the sky enduring on its supports; the land is seated beneath you because of your excellence O great God: Presenting the *inu* to the lord of the Two Lands . . ."

43. Redford (1992) 164.

44. Cf. Redford (1992) 164 n. 172.

45. Houwink Ten Cate (1963) 274–76. Murnane dates it before Šuppiluliuma, either to Amenhotep II or Thutmose IV; see Murnane (1990) 33 and n. 162. Whether or not the Kuruštama agreement was this treaty or a separate boundary arrangement is a moot point, since the question is whether a parity treaty existed in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. Drower also believed the treaty should have dated to this period. Helck felt it may have dated to Thutmose I's reign. Goetze likewise thought it dated to a period before Mitanni power emerged. Kitchen,

Concomitant with the apparent peace Amenhotep II enjoyed with Syria and perhaps Hatti too, the king built festival monuments in Karnak and elsewhere.<sup>46</sup> In these monuments we see the elaborate solar iconography that so characterizes Amenhotep III's reign begin to proliferate, but the majority of his constructions appear to have been completed before he celebrated or planned to celebrate any jubilees.<sup>47</sup> They often bear some reference to his athletic or military abilities.

Amenhotep II's military background was reflected in his administrative organization as well as in his ideological focus. Many of the king's close associates had earlier served in the military both under Thutmose III and under Amenhotep himself. Such close relations as army service can foster were perhaps made all the stronger by their origins in youth when he and his court associates learned to hunt and drive chariots. Usersatet, the viceroy of Southern Countries, may well have been one of these childhood friends who then served as a royal herald abroad under Thutmose III. A stela he left at the fortress of Semna on the Nile's Second Cataract has within it the text of a remarkable letter sent by Amenhotep to his old friend posted abroad.

Copy of an order which his Majesty made with his own two hands for the [king's son Usersatet]. . . . You sit . . . a brave one, who takes plunder from all lands, a chariot-soldier who fights for his Majesty, Amenhotep, who-rules-in-Heliopolis . . . Naharin, who gives orders to the Hittite; the [possessor of a wo]man from Babylon, and a servant from Byblos, of a young maiden from Alalakh and an old lady from Arapkha.<sup>48</sup>

Another who had served Thutmose III, Amenemheb (TT 85), must have died rather early in Amenhotep II's reign. In an inscription from his tomb,

however, dated it to Amenhotep III. See Drower (1973) 462; Helck (1971) 164; Goetze (1975) 9; Kitchen (1962) 22. See recently Sørensen (1985) 17–39, with conclusions on 37–38. He confirms that there was an Egyptian-Hittite parity treaty before Šuppiluliuma, but he finds the date impossible to ascertain. Schulman placed the agreement in the reign of Thutmose IV; see Schulman (1977–78) 112, and cf. Houwink Ten Cate (1963) 274–76. The major references to the Kuruštama treaty are found in *The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma* and the "Second Plague Prayer of Muršili II"; see Güterbock (1956); Goetze (1929) 208–9. See also Güterbock (1960) for KUB XXXI 121, 121a.

46. Van Siclen (1986b); idem (1987) 53–66.

47. Van Siclen (1990) 75–90. The temples of Amada, Buhen, and Giza probably have early dates. See Manuelian (1987) 254–66, with comments on which are coregency monuments.

48. Ibid. 157. I follow his translation except for changing the name *Amenophis* to *Amenhotep* and anglicizing *P3 h3ty*, and *Alalah*, and *Arapha*.



Amenemheb spoke of the installation of Amenhotep as king and then related how the king appointed him and spoke to him.

Then I bowed down to the ground in the presence of his Majesty, and he said to me: "I knew your character when I was (still) in the nest, when you were in the retinue of my father. Rank has been appointed to you, that you might serve as adjutant of the army according to what has been spoken. May you watch over the elite troops of the king."<sup>49</sup>

A courtier who perhaps best typifies the whole of Amenhotep II's rule was a friend from the military campaigns and childhood play. The great steward Kenamun fought together with Amenhotep in Retenu. When recognized for his service, Kenamun was made steward of Peru-nefer, the seat of a large naval dockyard and shipbuilding center. A royal residence was also active there in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. Later in his life, Kenamun's sinecure included the profitable stewardship of the king's own household, as well as the income from two statues of Amenhotep II. He also had a number of honorific titles most likely associated with Amenhotep's jubilee(s).<sup>50</sup> Kenamun appears to have been active during nearly the entire length of Amenhotep II's reign. His tomb (TT 93) shows elegant stylistic elements known only from tombs painted late in this three-decade period, but there is no hint that Kenamun survived into Thutmose IV's rule. Before his death, Kenamun was planning an enormous expansion of his tomb chapel complex, but the plans were left unfinished. It is uncertain whether the collapse and consequent damage now evident in the chapel were the reason for stopping construction. Still, the decidedly nonmilitary character of Kenamun's chosen tomb-painting themes, coupled with his abundant images of the prosperous elite lifestyle are in harmony with the tone set by tomb paintings contemporary to both Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III.

Two other men were greatly advanced in the time of Amenhotep II, probably due to early court acquaintance. The vizier Amenemipet and his brother, the mayor of Thebes, Sennefer, became extremely affluent due to the king's attentions.<sup>51</sup> Their father, Ahmose Humay, was a royal nurse who must have cared for Amenhotep II himself at some point. These two men were so influential in the Theban region that they were both afforded burial in the Valley of the Kings, and Sennefer's wife Sentnay, herself a royal nurse, was interred there as well. Both men also had large tomb chapels at Sheikh Abd-el

49. Manuelian (1987) 163, translating *Urk.* IV 896–97.

50. *Ibid.* 114–15, 159–60.

51. *Ibid.* 152–54, 160–62; R. Gundlach (1988).

Qurna. Sennefer indeed had two in order to accommodate several different female contemporaries. The elder daughter of Sennefer, Muttuy, shown on statuary and in tomb 96 lower, appears to have married a Kenamun who succeeded Sennefer as mayor of Thebes. They were contemporaries of Amenhotep III and were interred in tomb 162.<sup>52</sup>

In general it appears that Amenhotep II relied heavily on an administration peopled with friends and familiars. It would be interesting to speculate on whether this was partially influenced by an expedient need to trust one's courtiers. The ranks of the royal family and the elites at court were burgeoning in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. Indications that not all the princes raised at court were friendly or content have surfaced in the form of several mutilated monuments suggesting attempts at *damnatio memoriae*.

### Royal Family: The Context of Throne Contests

A number of princes can be documented for the reign of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, disregarding the reign of Thutmose IV altogether: for example, Amenemhet, Siamun, Menkheper, Amenhotep, Thutmose, Khaemwast (?), Princes A and B known from Giza stelae, Amenemipet, Webensenu, Nedjem. Perhaps Prince Aakheprure was born late in Amenhotep's reign. This plurality of young royal males is in contrast to the earlier part of the dynasty, when adult princes appeared to be scarce: perhaps they died on military campaigns or from childhood illnesses. Ahmose (sa-pair), Wadjmose, Amenmose, and Amenemhet are the few names left to us of those who did not reach the throne. Amenhotep I left no heir; Thutmose I's son Thutmose II by a woman named Mutnofret may have relied on his half sister and wife Hatshepsut for his competence. Thutmose II left the young Thutmose III by the woman Isis; we know of no other princes. The scarcity of princes may, of itself, be expected to have inspired rulers to take queens in addition to their "great royal wives." These royal wives were openly declared as queens by the rulers. At the same time, the kings certainly had sexual liaisons with a number of court females of unknown rank. These are the women—such as Mutnofret, Isis, Tiaa, and Mutemwia—whose sons became king and promoted their mothers as queens. It may be that Thutmose III was the first to add lesser royal wives alongside his major queen.<sup>53</sup> Other than Tiaa, how-

52. Contra Manuelian (1987) 154; he considers that the Sennefer family is not known later. See also P. Dorman (1995) 141–42.

53. Porter and Moss (1960) 591–92; Winlock (1948), with objects naming three women as royal wives. (This tomb's funerary objects—most now located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art—are being republished by Dr. Christine Lilyquist.) Another royal wife, Nebtta, is known



ever, by whom Amenhotep II produced his numerous offspring remains uncertain.

Not only his able procreative powers separate Amenhotep II from his predecessors. For unlike those before him, this king had no publicly acknowledged wife. Amenhotep's mother, Meryt-Re, served as his consort as great royal wife, as well as God's Wife of Amon, for much of his reign and even appears in his jubilee kiosk at Karnak.<sup>54</sup> The absence of wives might be considered a conscious rejection of the powerful role played by queens and princesses as god's wives of Amon from the establishment of the dynasty through the reign of Hatshepsut. That queen-turned-king's usurpation of the throne may have encouraged Thutmose III's and Amenhotep II's desire to produce sons. At the same time, they may have concluded that it was wise to prevent queens representing collateral lines of the dynastic family from becoming independently wealthy and powerful. Perhaps this was the motivation for kings to marry even great royal wives from outside the royal family, as did Thutmose III in choosing Sit-Iah and Meryt-Re.<sup>55</sup>

Whatever princes were born to Thutmose III and Amenhotep II must have been raised with the assurance of the family line in mind. Thus Thutmose III made no premature announcement of the heir to his throne but rather made him true coregent in Thutmose's fifty-first year.<sup>56</sup> Meryt-Re's appearance on Thutmose III's monuments is probably to be linked with Amenhotep's designation as intended heir. In contrast, the succession of Thutmose IV appears to have had no recognition at all by Amenhotep II, by coregency or announced intent.

On a statue dedicated in the reign of Amenhotep II by Prince Thutmose (later Thutmose IV) in the Mut temple of Karnak, the tutor accompanying the prince, named Heqareshu, is designated simply as nurse of the royal children, despite the fact that the statue names only one prince.<sup>57</sup> In tomb 64

from KV 34, the tomb of Thutmose III, along with his major wives Meryt-Re and Sitiah; Porter and Moss (1960) 553 Pillar A. For all these, see Troy (1986) 164–65.

54. Van Siclen (1987) 63, fig. 8.

55. Very likely the daughter of the Divine Adoratrice Huy of British Museum EA 1280; see Van Siclen (1986b) 2 n. 12. Note that minor wives recognized only in the time of their sons' reigns do not represent a nonroyal marriage. Only when a king married a nonroyal lady and declared her royal wife or preferably great royal wife in his lifetime can we clearly see that the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty preference for marrying within the dynastic line was broken. This argument is not in conflict with Robins (1983) 66–77. I consider this issue to be different from that of production of royal heirs, for which purpose rulers had outside liaisons earlier than the reign of Thutmose III. This issue is rather one of economic power staying within control of the ruler. See now Robins (1993) 21–41; Bryan (1996) especially 25–27.

56. Redford (1965) 107–22.

57. Bryan (1991) 43–46, pl. 1.

of the royal nurse Heqarneheh (and probably also Heqareshu), a tomb in which Thutmose IV appears as the reigning king, the same Heqareshu has become “nurse to the eldest king's son of his body Thutmose Khakhau” (Thutmose IV). Obviously Heqareshu's court influence and honorific titles expanded greatly after his young charge became king.<sup>58</sup>

Although Meryt-Re may have appeared on Thutmose III's late monuments, Thutmose IV's mother, Tiaa, cannot be certainly attested on a monument of Amenhotep II's other than as a later addition by Thutmose himself. There is no evidence before her son's reign that Tiaa's position influenced the succession. We would then be safe in concluding that Thutmose was raised in a manner common to all the sons of Amenhotep II that we know of—at court by royal nurses and tutors. Despite the fact that Amenhotep II may have hoped to see a particular son succeed him, prudence dictated that all the princes be similarly trained.

The institution to nurture these princes was already in place and was most useful in this period. Royal nurses, together with tutors from the ranks of retired courtiers, nurtured and educated royal children during the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>59</sup> The burgeoning documentation for princes at this time is thus probably no accident at all. Court recognition of royal nurses served to honor both the children and the tutors. The institution likewise allowed the king to oversee the content of the royal children's education.

Competition among the swelling ranks of capable young princes, particularly with the cessation of regular military campaigns in Asia after the first decade of Amenhotep II's reign, is not difficult to imagine. And competition can erupt unexpectedly into struggle among ambitious youths. The story of Thutmose IV's elevation to the kingship related by the Giza Sphinx stela inscription has been interpreted in the past to suggest he was not a legitimate heir. As I said already, such stories of divine determination were common in the period and need tell us no more than that royal ideology often drew on divine legitimation in the New Kingdom—perhaps because succession was often uncertain. Such stories do not necessarily entitle us to identify a specific historical event with each monument. In fact, we are left unsure whether we should retain the stories as holding a kernel of historicity or consider them all fictitious. Unfortunately for us, the Egyptian cultural context for royal inscriptions did not demand a test of factuality. Perhaps the romance of the “dream stela” is sufficient enough reason to quote it.

58. Ibid. 45, 259–61.

59. Roehrig (1991).



(1) Year 1, month 3 of Inundation, day 19, under the Majesty of the Strong Bull, perfect of diadems, the Two Ladies, enduring of kingship like Atum, Golden Horus, powerful of the *khepesh* (scimitar) who subdues the [Nine Bows], the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Men[kheperu]re, [son of Ra Thutmose kha khau, beloved of Horemakhet], given life, stability, and dominion like Ra forever.

(2) Live O Good God, the son of Atum, the protector of Horakhty, the living image of the Lord of All, the sovereign whom Ra made, the excellent heir of Khepri, beautiful of face like the ruler, his father, who goes forth perfect(ly) equipped with [his forms of Horus on his head, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt beloved of the gods, possessor of] charm before the Ennead, who purified Heliopolis, (3) who propitiated Ra, who embellished the House of Ptah, who presents truth to Atum, who offers it to him who is South of his Wall, who made monuments consisting of [daily offerings] to the god who made all that exists, who seeks what is beneficial to the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, who built their temples [in white stone], who endowed all their offerings, the son of Atum of his body Thutmose kha khau, like Ra, (4) the heir of Horus on his throne, Menkheprure, given life.

When His Majesty was an *inpu*, like the young Horus in Chemmis, his goodness already like the "protector of his father;" he was seen like a god himself. [Through love of him the army rejoices (and likewise) the royal children and] all [the nobles]. His might made his (5) victories flourish, and he repeated the circuit, his powers being like the son of Nut.

Now he passed time amusing himself on the plateau of the White Wall on its southern and northern confines, shooting copper targets and hunting [lions] and wild goats, and traveling on his chariot, his horses being faster (6) than the wind, together with one sole companion from his retinue; and no person knew it.

Then the hour of allowing rest for his retinue happened near the Setpet (emplacement) of Horemakhet, beside Sokar in Ro-Setau (necropolis), Rennutet in Tjamut in the desert necropolis, [Mut (foremost) of the horns of the gods], north of the mistress of southern Sat (?), Sakhmet, (7) foremost of the desert, of Seth, Dewa, and Heka, eldest of the holy place of the first occasion in the neighborhood of the lord of Kher-Aha, and of the divine road of the gods to the western horizon of Heliopolis.

Now the image of the very great Khepri was at rest in this place,

great of fame, powerful of respect, the shade of Ra resting on him, while the shrines of Memphis and every city on both its sides came to him, their arms in adorations to his face, (8) bearing great offerings for his *ka*.

One of these days it happened that the prince Thutmose came traveling at the time of midday. He rested in the shadow of this great god. [Sleep and] dream [took possession of him] at the moment the sun was at zenith. Then (9) he found the Majesty of this noble god speaking from his own mouth, like a father speaks to his son, and saying: "Look at me, observe me, my son Thutmose. I am your father Horemakhet-Khepri-Ra-Atum. I shall give to you the kingship (10) [on the land before the living]. You shall wear its white crown and its red crown on the throne of Geb, the heir. The land in its length and its breadth will be yours, and everything that the eye of the Lord of All illuminates. Good provisions will be for you from within the Two Lands, and the great produce of every foreign country, and a lifetime of time great in years. My face belongs to you; my heart belongs to you, and you belong to me.

(11) [Behold, my condition is like one in illness], all [my limbs being ruined]. The sand of the desert, on which I used to be, faces me (aggressively); and it is in order to cause that you do what is in my heart that I have waited. For I know that you are my son and my protector. Arrive! Behold, I am with you! I am (12) [your leader." He completed this speech.

Then this prince stared because] he heard this [utterance of the Lord of All (?)]. He understood the words of this god and he placed silence in [his] heart. [Then he said: Come, let us travel] to [our temple] of the city, that they may set aside offerings for this god.

(13) [We shall bring to him cattle, and all sorts of vegetables, and we shall give praises to those who came before] [///// . . . ] a statue of Chephren made for Atum-Ra-Horemakhet (14) [/// . . . ] in the festivals [//] (15) [//// . . . ] (16) [/////] numerous (17) [/// . . . ] for My Majesty for making to live which (18) [/// . . . ] speech of Khepri in the western horizon of Heliopolis in (19) [////] (20) [/////]."<sup>60</sup>

Several other monuments dedicated by Thutmose's brothers at their father's—Amenhotep II's—Giza Sphinx temple were found broken and mu-

60. Bryan (1991) 145–48, grammatical notes, 215–17, pl. IV; *Urk.* IV 1539–44.



tilated. The defacement of the Giza stelae suggests some sort of *damnatio memoriae*, but there is presently no way to demonstrate what provoked it. It is no less possible that another Giza prince attempted to disrupt Thutmose's succession than that Thutmose was a usurper. By virtue of his given name, Thutmose may have been considered a favored prince, while Prince Webensenu, the most likely son of Amenhotep to have been the owner of defaced Giza stelae (A and B),<sup>61</sup> may not have been.<sup>62</sup> Although Webensenu's burial canopic jars and *shabtiu* were found in Amenhotep II's tomb (KV 35), this tomb was greatly disturbed and was even used as a royal mummy cache location. Speculation that he was originally buried in tomb 42 of the Valley of the Kings, as a crown prince, and later moved has no supporting evidence as yet.<sup>63</sup> The objects were mixed with the king's, suggesting strongly that they were original to the environment. We may suppose this prince was probably of some importance from the material remains, but ascertaining more than this is not possible. If Thutmose IV's brother had tried to usurp his title to the throne, the new king would understandably have wished to remove the evidence. His interest in Giza generally would also be natural if another prince had tried to win support in the region. Despite the speculative character of this discussion, I continue to believe that the Giza stelae should not be ignored as evidence of a struggle; but I do not conclude that Thutmose IV was a usurper.

With respect to female family members, Thutmose IV, like Amenhotep II, placed his mother into the role of "god's wife of Amon," and Queen Mother Tiaa appeared as great royal wife during most of Thutmose's reign (fig. 2.5).<sup>64</sup> This intentional association with the goddess Mut, the consort of Amon and consequent mother of the king, was supplemented by iconographic and inscriptional relations of Tiaa with Isis and Hathor, goddesses who were both wives and mothers of gods. The king appears to have apportioned ceremonial roles of priestess and queen among Tiaa and two other great royal wives. Tiaa appears in the Karnak jubilee court of her son, where she holds a mace while witnessing the monument's foundation ceremony. In Amenhotep II's jubilee pavilion, Meryt-Re (whose name was later replaced with that of Tiaa) was shown likewise holding a mace, with a *sistrum*, or rhythmic rattle, in her other hand. Quite possibly the imagery here signifies

61. Bryan (1991) 61–63; Manuelian (1987) 176–77.

62. This argument is, however, unproven, since kings could have certainly changed their names at will.

63. See Bryan (1991) 63 nn. 196–97 for references to Wente and Thomas.

64. Ibid. 93–119.

not these queens' statuses as royal consorts but rather their temple roles as God's Wives of Amon (fig. 2.6). The mace became a standard iconographic element of the God's Wives later on.<sup>65</sup> Speculation might lead one to wonder whether Amenhotep II's unwillingness ever to recognize a great royal wife other than his own mother, Meryt-Re, was another reflection of the earlier struggle with Hatshepsut. And perhaps also the office of god's wife of Amon was intentionally granted to these nonroyal king's wives and mothers over whom the kings had effective control.

Thutmose IV's wife, Nefertiry (nonroyal), performed the consort (Hathoric) role for him, along with Tiaa as mother goddess, during the earlier years of rule. Thutmose capitalized on this mother-son-wife triad (as did Amenhotep III later) to enact roles, for example, at Luxor temple, where Thutmose IV as god and king was accompanied by Tiaa as mother (Nekhbet or Isis) and Nefertiry as sister and wife (Hather or Isis).<sup>66</sup> Later he married a full sister, Iaret, and apparently Nefertiry either died or was ignored.<sup>67</sup> Amenhotep III's mother, Mutemwia, was never recognized by Thutmose IV, either as major or minor queen, but the prince apparently was.<sup>68</sup> Taken together the queens of Thutmose IV may presage Queens Tiye and Nefertiti, and one may propose to see that Tiye's ultimate embodiment of all divine queenly roles (wife, sister, mother) during Amenhotep III's reign was won at the diminution of her later role as queen mother under Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. Mutemwia was venerated by Amenhotep III in the form of the goddess Mut so precisely (she receives the title *mut ntr*, "god's mother") that she had no obvious worldly influence, and without the mythological necessity for Mut in Amenhotep IV's new order, Tiye's ritual significance at Amarna as queen mother was diluted. While her actual influence may have been great for a time (as the Amarna Letters attest), her role at court as part of the holy royal family was undefined. Nefertiti, in contrast, maintained her iconographic associations with Hathor as wife and mother to the young sun god, and likewise evoked them in her worship activities with Akhenaten and her daughters. It seems to have been the Amarna family of king, queen, and royal daughters that replaced the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty model known best under Thutmose IV. The king's mother never regained in the Ramesside era the status she held earlier.

65. Ibid. 98–101, with references.

66. Ibid. 101–3, 108–10.

67. Ibid. 108–20.

68. Ibid. 349.



### Thutmose IV: The Monuments and Their Ideology

Thutmose IV's reign of eight-plus years was brief but active. It is a commonplace observation that Egyptian rulers built numbers of monuments in direct proportion to the amount of peace and affluence they enjoyed. As king, Thutmose IV had the wealth and peace, but his time apparently was cut short. He began construction at most of Egypt's major temple sites and at four sites in Nubia. The original sizes of the monuments and of their remains vary greatly, but in general he added to preexisting temples.

We do not know whether kings planned their building programs in advance or whether we may safely make historical conclusions based on the geography of construction in a reign. Some sites, at least, may have been chosen by royal officials, especially those places at great distances from the king's residence. The distribution of Thutmose IV's monuments, within the context of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, is unremarkable. He honored the established cult centers and was hardly an iconoclast. Yet at several locations he left certain harbingers of things to come. Indeed, we may suggest that he deliberately followed in the footsteps of his grandfather and father, building additions to their temples, and that he in similar fashion suggested new sites and monuments to his son. Monuments of the reign have been found at the places noted in the following list.<sup>69</sup>

#### Egypt

##### Delta

Alexandria: Red-granite columns reused by Merneptah and Seti II, perhaps originally from Heliopolis.

Seriakus: Red-granite stela, gilded, dedicated to Ra-Horakhty and Atum, probably originally from Heliopolis.

Heliopolis (?): Red-granite obelisk (CG 17013; Thutmose IV or Amenhotep II).

##### Memphite Region

Giza: twenty-seven-plus monuments.<sup>70</sup> Series of stelae, a new mud-brick wall, a doorway, a *naos*, or shrine, etc. The Sphinx stela is quoted in full

69. Ibid. 142 ff. Cf. the list in Petrie (1989) 165, where he names thirteen sites, of which two, Luxor temple and Sehel, are incorrectly included. The Luxor birth scenes date to Amenhotep III's reign, and the Sehel graffito dates to Akhenaten's.

70. Bryan (1991) 144–56. See recently Lehner (1991).

earlier in this chapter. It contains a number of elements suggesting both projects the king undertook and changing ideological notions.

Abusir: Relief usurped on Sahure sculpture of the Fifth Dynasty.

Memphis/Saqqara: Foundation deposit, architrave fragment; granodiorite offering table (1.5 by .8 meters).

#### Fayum

Crocodilopolis: Statue of Queen Mother Tiaa (CG 1167).

#### Middle Egypt

Hermopolis: Jamb of limestone, relief in sandstone, fragmentary scribal palette (Thutmose III or IV).

Amarna: Wristlet of ivory (Berlin Charlottenburg 21685; Thutmose IV before Montu-Ra); amulet in form of eye of Horus; fragments of faience with king's name; sandstone block fragment, probably reused from Hermopolis.

#### Upper Egypt

Abydos: Chapel of brick with limestone revetment; statue in limestone found in front of Ramses II temple, lost.

Dendera: Single block.

Medamud: Wall fragments, lintel, red-granite statue.<sup>71</sup>

Karnak: Peristyle court, now reerected in the open-air museum of Karnak; porch to Fourth Pylon; lintel and jambs from Karnak granary; dedications on Amenhotep II monuments; alabaster bark shrine; Lateran square obelisk originally erected as the "sole obelisk" in the east temple precinct; doorways and porch in the Montu precinct; statues within central and southern Karnak.<sup>72</sup>

Luxor: Two granodiorite stelae, one of year 1 endowing temple offerings (restored by Seti I), one with Tiaa and Nefertiry; fragments of colossal granodiorite statue with name rings on base.

Thebes: Mortuary temple; tomb in King's Valley, no. 43.<sup>73</sup>

Armant: Blocks.

Tod: Blocks.

71. Bryan (1987) 3–20.

72. Peristyle court, Letellier (1991) 36–52. Montu precinct, Van Siclen (1991) 135–48.

73. Reeves (1990a); Dodson (1993), on canopic objects.



El-Kab: Desert shrine of Amenhotep III, probably erected but left unfinished by Thutmose IV.

Edfu: Doorjamb.

Elephantine: Column, blocks, architrave fragments (perhaps part of porch to peristyle court of Amenhotep II); red-granite obelisk.

Konosso: Royal inscriptions of year 7 and 7/8, including the only full military inscription extant from the reign. The Konosso text is quoted in full later in this chapter, because of its length and reference to a historical event.

#### Nubia

Amada: Temple of Amada decoration of peristyle hall.<sup>74</sup>

Faras (?): Block probable.

Buhen: Door lintel reuse, jar sealings, boundary stela for a high priest.

Tabo: Blocks of a sandstone building apparently completed by Amenhotep III.<sup>75</sup>

Gebel Barkal: Blocks, foundation deposit, statue base.

#### Asia

Serabit el-Khadim: Hathor pillars; jamb, blocks; faience votive objects; mine-opening inscriptions.

Assur (?): Vessel of a Thutmosid.

Several sites among the many mentioned suggest the king's particular contributions and choices for economic expansion. They are mentioned here in the order they appeared in the preceding list—geographically north to south. Prince Ahmose, probably Thutmose IV's brother and the high priest of Ra, referred to his project of building the enclosure wall for the temple of Atum.<sup>76</sup> He likewise asserted that he consecrated the precinct, removing any evils. This would no doubt have followed on the building of the enclosure wall, whose purpose was to define the sacred area. Although we do not have the doorways of Thutmose IV's enclosure wall (as we have for Thutmose III),

74. Bougrain Debourg (1996–97).

75. Bryan (1991) 204.

76. CG 589; Borchardt (1911–36) 144–45: “[W]hom the king chose in front of the Two Lands to do everything that he ordained in the temple of Father Atum, it being enclosed with a wall as an enduring construction.” And again, “[W]hom the king chose when he was a knowledgeable youth that he might work the land for him to consecrate (*sdsr*) the temple of Atum, exorcising evils from it.” He also referred to himself, among his administrative titles relating to the temple, as overseer of the *pure* fields of Atum, lord of Heliopolis, perhaps a reference to the newly sanctified area and its consequently pure produce.

we do have the king's own mention of this activity in Heliopolis. On the Sphinx stela the king referred to himself as one who “purified Heliopolis and propitiated Ra.”<sup>77</sup> He also noted that he “presented *maat* to Atum.”<sup>78</sup> Without the Ahmose inscription this phrase seems formulaic, but it may now be seen to have been an accurate summation—Thutmose IV sanctified the precinct of Atum (as opposed to that of Ra already purified by Thutmose III)<sup>79</sup> and provided required offerings to Ra. The stela from Seriakus, also of red granite and gilded, may well have been the record for this effort.

The materials recording Thutmose IV's activity at Heliopolis suggest he was following the lead of Thutmose III at the site, perhaps even deliberately emulating his chosen namesake. The king's interest in the sun gods may be documented throughout his building campaigns and in his inscriptions as well.

At Giza he devoted himself not to a display of equestrianism and archery as did Amenhotep II but to the god Horemakhet and the Heliopolitan cult. It is tempting to attribute at least some of the king's interest in the spot as an attempt to compensate for some unexpected difficulties in his succession. The witness of the sons of Amenhotep II, who revered Horemakhet, surely had an impact on Thutmose, who may have destroyed their monuments. Nonetheless, Thutmose IV enlarged the solar significance of Horemakhet's cult at Giza. In Amenhotep II's reign Horemakhet was not a major sun deity but a regional god whom the king remembered as he remembered his ancestors Chephren and Khufu.<sup>80</sup> The gradual assimilation of Horemakhet to Horakhty took place during Amenhotep's reign—on Stela B, for example, Ra-Horakhty appeared behind Horemakhet; the name of the sun god was often applied to the Sphinx, so the god Horemakhet (properly called) was labeled Horakhty/Ra-Horakhty on numerous examples. On Stela B<sup>81</sup> he was called Horemakhet-Horakhty in the *hṯp di nsw* offering formula. Thutmose IV greatly expanded the importance of Horemakhet as a sun god, referring to him on the Sphinx stela as Horemakhet-Khepri-Ra-Atum. He omitted Amon-Ra from the Sphinx stela, allowing the northern deity to dominate

77. *Urk.* IV 1540, 13. See the following discussion of the Sphinx stela for the retrospective nature of the monument.

78. *Urk.* IV 1540, 15.

79. For the existence of two separate precincts for Ra and Atum at Heliopolis, see Kakosy (1977) 1111–13.

80. See esp. Zivie (1976) 316–24. The text of Amenhotep II's Sphinx stela, *Urk.* IV 1276–83, does not mention Horemakhet until line 25 and then only in reference to his region as a visitation place. The end of the inscription notes that because the king remembered his visit there, he wished to memorialize it.

81. Hassan (1953) 85, fig. 68.



both as sun god and as royal legitimator. Even on Amenhotep II's Sphinx stela, Amon was the primeval creator and also determined the kingship. Thutmose's omission of Amon from his stela must then have been deliberate and a reflection both of the increasing importance of the Heliopolitan gods and perhaps of the north itself as the administrative center of Egypt.

But Thutmose IV focused his attention on this region more broadly than at Horemakhet alone. Giza was to be home to more gods than Horemakhet, a favorite god of the royal family and high court officials. Thutmose IV created at Giza a center of sun worship where all the gods gathered, particularly northern deities. Indeed, he was largely responsible for recognizing the gods of the Memphis-Letopolis area; his Sphinx stela, in several cases, is the earliest attested reference to a local god.<sup>82</sup> The king's interest in Horemakhet and the site of Giza was rewarded, for later the god was loved by all people and was favored by scores of pilgrims.<sup>83</sup> Thutmose's personal influence in the Giza region was still apparent in the reign of Ay, when his estate fields were yet producing revenues.<sup>84</sup>

At Karnak, as at Heliopolis and Giza, Thutmose IV followed in the footsteps of Thutmosid rulers but also designed monuments to his own focuses. The king shifted the main axis back to east-west, abandoning Amenhotep II and Hatshepsut's north-south entranceway. Placing a porch and door before the Fourth Pylon, Thutmose IV probably first left the original Thutmose II court untouched and changed only the monumental doorway itself. He erected a porch for the Fourth Pylon doorway, with columns made of wood (ebony and *meru*-wood according to an inscription) and probably gilded with electrum. This porch would have been a protected space used during court rituals, and two contemporary representations of it have been preserved for us.<sup>85</sup>

A few years later he created a new appearance for the Fourth Pylon limestone court erected by Thutmose II, husband of Hatshepsut. Over the limestone walls, Thutmose IV built a sandstone peristyle court elaborately decorated with reliefs showing treasures donated by the king to the god Amon. This was to have commemorated a first jubilee, celebrated without regard to a thirty-year principle. The style of Thutmose's sculpture from Karnak changes in the last years of his rule, becoming more elaborate and expressive. This change in sculpture style and/or iconography accompanied

82. E.g., Rennutet of Iat Tjamut, Hathor of Inerty, and Mut of the Horns of the Gods. See the discussion in Zivie (1976) 283–303.

83. Ibid. 320–25.

84. *Urk.* IV 2109.

85. Bryan (1991) 170–71.

every well-attested example of a king who celebrated the Sed Festival. In fact, despite Johnson's identification of iconographic contributions to Amenhotep III's regalia,<sup>86</sup> Thutmose IV was the first king to wear the uraei with sun disk on the kilt apron—on a monumental figure of the king from the peristyle court. This large-scale figure is part of the wall recently reconstructed and has much in common with the figures of Amenhotep III from the east face of the Third Pylon. Bernadette Letellier demonstrated that Amenhotep III completed some decoration of the peristyle court, just as he did on Thutmose IV's alabaster bark shrine (fig. 2.7).<sup>87</sup>

At Karnak too the king erected a single obelisk on the eastern end of the precinct. This obelisk, produced for Thutmose III, had lain by the lapidary workshop for thirty-five years until Thutmose IV ordered it set up. It became a focus of the eastern solar cult, as it was placed directly on the temple axis.<sup>88</sup> In addition to some minor work at North Karnak, some statue dedications, and door parts from the Karnak granary, Thutmose IV placed his name on his father's Eighth Pylon monuments. The focus of Karnak was a temple not only to Amon-Ra but also to the deceased kings of Egypt, as deities encouraged Thutmose to show himself as the loyal son. In the same way, his son Amenhotep III left his hand on Thutmose IV's Karnak monuments before the Fourth Pylon, before he dismantled them and placed their remains in the foundation of his own Third Pylon.

Had he lived longer, Thutmose IV might well have been very like his son Amenhotep III. Thutmose IV identified himself deliberately with the sun god. At Giza, he appeared on one stela wearing the *shebyu*-collar of gold rings and gold armlets strongly associated with the solar deity's favor. These jewels are often shown on representations of the king in funerary contexts, but Thutmose IV wears them on this stela, on his chariot, and on an ivory armlet (?) found at Amarna—all contexts with nonfunerary associations. On the last object, the king actually appears with a sun disk over or on his head. This divine iconography should be seen in conjunction with the inscriptional materials referring to Thutmose IV as the offspring of the sun god and Heliopolitan deities generally, as well as the examples of king as falcon gathered by Redford.<sup>89</sup> Thutmose IV left a statue of himself as falcon king at Karnak (CG 42081). On a relief from his sandstone court at Karnak, a statue of the king as falcon was pictured among other royal statuary. In these images the divine aspect of the kingship is supreme. When the material is

86. Johnson (1990).

87. Letellier (1991).

88. Bryan (1991) 176–79.

89. Redford (1976) 51.



brought together, the king's contribution to an evolving kingship that increasingly relied on the ruler's identification with the gods he honored is apparent.

### Thutmose IV and Foreign Policy

With regard to foreign policy in the east, the contact that Thutmose IV had with Mitanni might be better considered before the backdrop of a preexisting peace with that power.<sup>90</sup> Military activity in the Syrian sphere would then have been against either upstart Egyptian vassals or Mitanni kinglets asserting pressure on the Egyptian city-states. We need not take literally the reluctance attributed to Artatama by Tušratta at the marriage of his daughter to Thutmose IV.<sup>91</sup>

When [Manahpiria], the father of [Ni]mmuaria wrote to Artatama, my grandfather, and requested for himself the daughter of [my grandfather, my father's sister], five times, six times he kept sending, and he did not give her at all. A seventh time [to my grandfather he] sent, then he gave her straightaway.<sup>92</sup>

The seven requests by the Egyptian were no doubt a literary embellishment used by Tušratta to emphasize his own willingness to send Tadukhepa. It may have been pure fabrication by the Mitanni ruler. Indeed, Thutmose IV may well, like Amenhotep II before him, have also had a treaty relationship with Babylonia. In Amarna Letter EA 1:20, Amenhotep III writes to Kadašman-Enlil II:

And when you write that the words of my father I have abandoned, you do not cite his words. Rather, "Establish brotherhood between us!"—these are the words that you have written to me. Certainly we are brothers, you and I. . . .

Given that there might have been a treaty between Amenhotep II and the Mitanni king, Thutmose might have simply renewed an older document with both these Great Kings. If not, some events might have occurred to change the Near Eastern power balance, in Syria but hardly in Mesopotamia.

90. Summarized in Vandersleyen (1995) 352–54; Bryan (1991) 336 ff. See also Redford (1992) 160–77; Bryan forthcoming.

91. Moran (1992).

92. Amarna Letter EA 29; cf. Bryan (1991) 118.

The best-known inscription noting military activity for Thutmose IV is the Karnak statue-dedication text that refers to the "first victorious campaign" of the king.<sup>93</sup> This extremely laconic text reads in part, "from the plunder of His Majesty from [////]na, defeated, from his first campaign of victory." This inscription has been held to document a war against Naharin, but the designation "defeated" was not one applied to Mitanni in Egyptian inscriptions, so the toponym was probably a more localized one. Military exploits are attested in both the south and the north for Thutmose IV, but the Syrian regions are verified further through Amarna Letter allusions. The toponym referred to on his Karnak dedication (and on a statue base from Luxor temple) is thus more likely to have been in Syria. Kühne and Campbell agreed that Thutmose IV campaigned in northern Syria,<sup>94</sup> and the slight evidence suggests that a vassal city in that region was plundered on the victorious march. If this had been the case, the two most likely cities to restore on the Karnak dedication would have been Sidon (*Zi-du-na*), where Thutmose IV was known to have traveled and where Egypt clearly lacked support in the Amarna era; and Qatna, near Tunip in Nuhašše. Qatna is not attested in the reign, but the king's presence in the area is. In addition, Qatna was taken by Thutmose III, while skirmishes took place near it under Amenhotep II. Qatna does not reappear in toponym lists until Amenhotep III's reign, so Thutmose IV probably, like his father, only faced a few rebels from the region. Sidon is not known from Egyptian inscription but occurs in Amarna Letter EA 85 with an apparent reference to Thutmose IV. Rib-Addi told Amenhotep III that "since your father returned from the city of Sidon, from that time the lands were made over to Habiru." This could serve as a confirmation for Thutmose's activity in the Sidon and Lebanon area, but it is always questionable whether we can rely on Amarna Letter references to what a ruler's "father" did. The term taken to mean "father" could mean "ancestor" and might even be invoked for pseudohistorical prologue. While a restoration of either Qatna or Sidon is only a suggestion, the north remains the likely area for the main campaign. This is all the more evident since Artatama would have been impressed by a show of strength at his doorstep, particularly were negotiations for a treaty renewal in progress. A scene in the tomb of the standard-bearer Nebamun (tomb 90) records the man's promotion in year 6 and shows the chiefs of Naharin before the king in his kiosk. Captives also appear in this scene and are rare enough after the reign of Amenhotep II that they should be taken seriously. However, as captives taken

93. Bryan (1991) 174–75; *Urk.* IV 1552–55, esp. 1554, 17–18.

94. Kühne (1973) 20 n. 85; Campbell (1964) 86.



in a Syrian campaign that engaged both Mitanni vassals and those of rebellious Egyptian city-states, these foreigners make the statement of Egypt's obvious superiority vis-à-vis Mitanni. Such an assertion of dominance would have been appropriate at the moment of Egypt's treaty renewal with Washukanni. It may be that rather than help us to document a war against the Mitanni ruler, this scene informs us of the date for Thutmose IV's alliance with the Syrian king Artatama.<sup>95</sup>

In the southern regions of Palestine, Thutmose can only be said to have effected a punitive action against Gezer. Actual warfare cannot be proven, but he transported some people therefrom to Thebes. Otherwise, for Asia generally, we can assert that some military activity against Mitanni vassals took place probably in or before the king's sixth year of rule. The specific areas in which he took an active interest were Nuhasse, Tunip, and Sidon. He was said to have actually visited the last town, and that visit may have occurred during the "first campaign of victory." (It was probably not during a mission to cut wood.) There is nothing to indicate that Thutmose IV lost any of those cities in fighting with Mitanni, but rather it appears that he claimed some type of victory over Naharin vassals. It is presently impossible to prove that the Asian holdings of Egypt at the end of Thutmose's reign were not similar to those of Amenhotep II. And it is similarly impossible to demonstrate that Artatama I could have been dealing from a position of strength when he decided to strike a treaty with Thutmose IV. Thutmose never fought the Mitanni ruler directly, but his power in the far northern provinces was intact. Thus Artatama may have been renewing a treaty already in force under Amenhotep II, or he may have been reaching an accord to achieve stability for the region as a whole. (Perhaps the specter of a united Assyria and Babylon was already apparent.) Egypt was hardly disgraced in this peace—she appears to have given up nothing.

With regard to Egypt's relations with southerners during the reign, the Konosso stela is the only lengthy text to survive. Indeed, it, the Sphinx stela, and the year 1 text from Luxor temple are the only other long inscriptions from the reign. A translation follows.

Live the Horus, Strong Bull, perfect of diadems, the Two Ladies, enduring of kingship like Atum, the Golden Horus, powerful of *khepesh*, who subdues the Nine Bows, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheprure, given life forever.

95. Bryan forthcoming; idem (1991) 339–40. The same delegation perhaps appears in TT 91, the tomb of an unnamed contemporary.

Year 7/8, month 3 of *peret*, day 2. Now His Majesty was in the Southern City at the quay of Karnak, his two arms being clean in divine purity. He propitiated Father Amon according as he was given eternity as king forever, enduring on the throne of Horus.

And one came to speak to His Majesty: the Nehesy has descended from (or near) the vicinity of Wawat, he having planned rebellion against Egypt, collecting for himself all the foreigners and rebels of the other country.

A proceeding in peace to the temple by the king at the time of dawn to give offerings and numerous provisions to his father who created his beauties. The king, His Majesty, petitioned himself in the presence of the ruler of the gods, consulting him (the god) concerning the condition of his (the king's) expedition. Then he (the god) informed what would happen to him (the king), showing to him the way on the good route to do what his (the god's) *ka* desires, like the words of a father to his son in whom he had produced his offspring. He (the king) went forth from him, his heart being extended (joyful). And he commanded that [his army be collected immediately. He sent it off in valiance and strength.

Proceeding after this by His Majesty to overthrow the one who attacked him in Ta-Sety, he being brave in his [golden] ship, like Ra when he places himself in the night Bark. His sails were filled with bright red and green linen, and spans of horses and troops were accompanying him. His army was with him, the champions in two rows, with the elite troops at his sides, and the *'h'w* boats being equipped with his retainers.<sup>96</sup>

The king fared south like Orion, making Upper Egypt gleam with his beauty: the husbands shouted through love of him, and the women became excited at the news. Montu in Armant protected [his] limbs, Nesret conducting before him, and every god of the southern region bore a bouquet for his nose.

Nekhbet the White one of Nekheb affixed the insignia of my Majesty, her two arms being around the *was* scepter, she binding for me the Nine Bows entire.

It happened that I spent the time of *tit-i*, "the Cleansed-Image Festival,"<sup>97</sup> having alighted at the quay of Edfu.<sup>98</sup> Then the Good God went forth like Montu in all his forms, adorned with his weapons of

96. The description is of a military parade, hardly of a battle-ready army.

97. The purpose and frequency of this festival is unknown.

98. The king left Thebes and stopped at Armant and probably at other temples. Then he visited El Kab and finally rested at Edfu.



combat, raging [like] Seth the Ombite, while Ra was behind him alive unceasingly, without darkness on the mountains, with one sole companion from his retinue.

Without waiting for his army to come to him, [he made] a great [carnage] with his powerful scimitar. His terror entered into every belly, Ra having placed his fear in the lands like Sakhmet in a year of her pestilence. He was vigilant, not sleeping while he trod the Eastern desert. He opened the road like the Southern jackal, seeking the region of him who attacked him.

He found all the enemies belonging to the Nehesy in a hidden (or difficult) valley that was unknown, they being concealed (?) from the people (*rmtwt*) who trod the mountains and lands distant from what was (normally) traveled (?). Then he removed the townspeople (?), together with their relatives, their cattle, all their possessions with them. . . .<sup>99</sup>

The Konosso stela is consistently referred to by scholars as the report of Thutmose IV's Nubian war.<sup>100</sup> But in fact the text appears to refer to a desert patrol within Egypt, in the first nome of the country. This is clear from the wording used by the scribe—"the Nehesy has descended from the vicinity of Wawat"—(that is, Lower Nubia)—the same wording used by Harkhuf in describing his return from Yam on his second expedition. Since the text refers to the Eastern desert, we can surmise that that region, within the borders of Ta-Sety, was the location of this skirmish.

That this interpretation, counter to older ones that place the skirmish in Nubia, is correct can be supported with other evidence in the inscription. Thutmose IV set out on his mission from Edfu. The Wadi Mia runs east from that town, and that Wadi was a normal road taken to gold mines in the Eastern desert—especially those at Barramiyah, Samut further southeast, and finally Sukari. In fact, the Wadi Mia and the connecting road at Bir Beiza were not normal "through-traffic" highways; they were routes to the mines and mountains where other precious stones were worked.<sup>101</sup> Thus we would not expect Thutmose IV to start an expedition to Nubia from the Wadi Mia. He said in his stela that he opened the road "like the Southern Egyptian jackal" and that he "trod the Eastern desert"; the king never mentioned Kush or Wawat in his travel description. Thutmose referred to an *int št3* as the

99. *Urk.* IV 1545–48; Bryan (1991) 333–36.

100. See most recently O'Connor (1983) 259; Gardiner (1961) 204; Steindorff and Seele (1957) 71; Säve-Söderbergh (1941) 156–57.

101. Kees (1961) 124–26, map on 119. See Seti I Kanais texts in Kitchen (1969b) 65–71.

rebels' home—a valley difficult of access, "concealed from the people who trod the mountains and lands distant from what was traveled." Compare Seti I's reference to his expedition to Kanais, where he "made a monument in the mountains of all the gods, digging water from the mountains that were far from people of every district who tread the mountains."<sup>102</sup>

The Konosso stela details a journey by Thutmose IV over the gold-mine routes east of Edfu; he very likely was being bothered by Nubians who were interfering with gold transports, and he found that they were hiding out in the mountains where the mines themselves were located.<sup>103</sup> Since the expedition terminated at Konosso, it is possible that the king used the Wadi el Hudi to return. That might imply that he did travel as far as Sukari before he started back. There is, however, little in the text to imply that a major war took place against these Nubians. Rather, this was a desert police action that merited attention because of a threat to transportation through the desert. The trifling importance of this campaign is indicated in the fact that the king struck out from Edfu even before his troops were assembled and began assaulting the "rebels" along the Eastern road.

Indeed, the emphasis in the inscription is on the oracle of Amon,<sup>104</sup> the majesty of the king's procession upstream, and the blessing of all Upper Egyptian gods for Thutmose's journey and victory. It is entirely possible that this stela commemorated a royal military procession from Thebes to Aswan: the king toured Upper Egypt, stopping at major temple sites, according to a prearranged itinerary. Inscriptions and scenes at Konosso show that members of the king's household and numerous of his palace favorites left graffiti at Konosso in association with this text; that would accord well with a formal tour of Upper Egypt. The same might be claimed for year 7 when the king's wife Iaret was pictured on the stela at Konosso; and her appearance at Sinai in the same year might likewise suggest a royal inspection of the turquoise mines. It is apparent from this text and from the Horemheb coronation inscriptions<sup>105</sup> that kings visited Upper Egypt largely for ceremonial

102. Kitchen (1975) 65.

103. For a discussion of Nubian military and other interactions with Egypt, primarily for the Old and Middle Kingdoms, see O'Connor (1986) 27–50, esp. 43–50. At nn. 82, 83, and 109, O'Connor notes the familiarity of the Wawat inhabitants with Egyptian work projects through both corvée service and mercenary employment. O'Connor's argument overall implies that Nubian chiefdoms, when united through whole regions under a single ruler, created kingdoms at certain moments in time. This was not the case in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, of course, but the activities referred to here in the Konosso stela may be attributed to organized troops not unfamiliar with Egyptian military and labor practices.

104. Cf. Goedicke (1992).

105. *Urk.* IV 2116, 15–16; 2129, 10.



purposes but did not permanently reside there. Perhaps their visits developed into displays of military strength in concert with the required performances.<sup>106</sup>

In observing the overall administrative structures in use through the period, we can note some clear trends but also some inconclusive situations. Thutmose's approach to the administration was to allow the military office ranks to shrink and to bureaucratize.<sup>107</sup> Regardless of whether the king had difficulty securing the throne, his reign demonstrates continuity with his father's tenure. At least two of his close military scribes (Tjanni and Horemhab) had functioned under consecutive earlier kings. Others in the contemporary civil administration do not appear to have been newcomers to the bureaucracy. Merire, chief steward in the early years of Thutmose IV's rule, was possibly already a steward under Thutmose III; Tjenuna, his successor, served as a scribe to Merire before he served as chief steward. The treasurer Sobekhotep was from an established family with royal connections dating back at least to the reign of Thutmose III. We must then believe that Thutmose IV was able to rely as much on prestigious families as did earlier rulers.

Yet every king had his prerogatives, and many did choose personal court favorites. Amenhotep II favored his childhood friend Kenamun; Hatshepsut chose Senmut. Tjenuna's fragmentary tomb biography suggests he had a personal relationship with Thutmose IV that resembled that of a son to a father: he called himself *sdty nsu mꜣ mry.f*, "true foster child of the king, beloved of him."<sup>108</sup> Although there is not sufficient documentation to support the notion that Tjenuna was as powerful as either Senmut or Kenamun, Thutmose IV may well have trusted his chief steward, who was also steward for Amon, as much as any other single individual. Horemhab, owner of tomb 78, must also have been a powerful and close ally, to judge from the size of his burial and his appearance with a daughter of Thutmose in his tomb.<sup>109</sup>

106. One could certainly cite two Aswan area stelae of Amenhotep III, both of which referred to the year 5 Nubian campaign at Ibhet—at which the king was not present. (See *Urk.* IV 1661–63, 1665–66.) These could have been inscribed by the returning armies but are so general and stylized that it is possible they commemorated the king's visit to Aswan to receive his army. Note that he states that *hb n.f m wdyt.f tpt n nht* [he feasted in accordance with his first campaign of victory] and that *smn.f wd n nhtwt r mn kbhw Hr* [he erected a stela of victories as far as the Fountain of Horus]. Thus the formal and celebratory aspects of the campaign appear to dominate the Aswan texts, in contrast to the historical reporting on the Semna stela of Merymose.

107. Weil (1908) 80; Helck (1958) 298, 440–41.

108. *Urk.* IV 1578, 12.

109. For citations see Bryan (1991) 279–83.

The civil officials often represented traditional families of influence. Hepu was vizier in the south during Thutmose IV's reign, and a Ptahhotep administered the north.<sup>110</sup> That the two viziers existed simultaneously is confirmed by the Munich papyrus dated to Thutmose's reign in which both men, called "viziers" (*tꜣt*), appear as judges. Hepu's tomb (66)<sup>111</sup> is on the prestigious mount of Sheik abd-el Qurna, and its placement, as pointed out by Helck,<sup>112</sup> conforms to that of viziers under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II—that is, it is the most deeply placed tomb of the reign. But the tomb itself is small and comparatively unimpressive when viewed beside others of the period (e.g., TT 76 and 63). Its state of preservation is so poor that few scenes can be wholly reconstructed. Hepu had the text of the *Installation of the Vizier* inscribed on the walls of his tomb,<sup>113</sup> in addition to scenes of himself standing before the king and presenting the revenues of the land. The preserved scenes represent a number of workshop activities and are similar to some of Rekhmire's craft scenes. The archaizing style may therefore have been somewhat intentional to recall the monuments of influential earlier viziers.

About the second, northern vizier, Ptahhotep, nothing is known beyond the one papyrus mentioned. Although we cannot confirm that the vizier Hepu belonged to the powerful family of priests of Amon known in Hatshepsut's time, the name at least suggests this connection. The overall influence of the viziers, however, remains uncertain for the reign, due to the paucity of evidence for them. The diminished size of Hepu's tomb in comparison to Amenemipet's under Amenhotep II, on the one hand, or Ramose's under Amenhotep III, on the other, is cause to question the extent of Thutmose's mandate to his vizier.

One man whose career has become better known to us due to the chance preservation of a nonmonumental document is the overseer of the treasury in Thutmose IV's reign. That man is the well-known Fayum mayor Sobekhotep, whose tomb is number 63 on the hill of Sheik abd-el Qurna.<sup>114</sup> Sobekhotep was a highly valued court figure, as can be seen from his liaisons with royal children. Such responsibility to the royal family was not at all uncommon for overseers of the treasury, since they were to a great extent personal emissaries of the king.<sup>115</sup> The office required a man who could travel on mining expeditions to oversee production and who could also

110. Bryan (1991) 242–44, with references.

111. PM 1, part 1, 132.

112. Helck (1962b) 236–37.

113. Davies (1963) 10, pl. 10; Van den Boorn (1988).

114. Dziobek (1990); *Urk.* IV 1582–84; Bryan (1991) 70–71, 103–6, 244–47.

115. Bryan in Dziobek (1990) 81–88, with references.



supervise the palace granaries closer to home; he was clearly someone the king could trust at a distance. He worked with the vizier and thus shared the responsibility for opening the palace treasury each day;<sup>116</sup> but treasurers were also trusted friends of sovereigns, and princes were sometimes entrusted to them to learn the demands of statecraft.

Sobekhotep must have acquired his office through his father, Min, who was overseer of the treasury for Thutmose III; one might assume that the son served under Amenhotep II at some point, but there is no mention of this monarch on any of Sobekhotep's monuments. His genealogy shows that he inherited his title "mayor of Fayum" through his wife (a second Sobekhotep known from two statues was probably his father-in-law)<sup>117</sup> and then passed it to his son, Paser, who continued to function as mayor of Fayum at least until the last years of Amenhotep III. His title "overseer of the treasury" did not remain with an identified son but went to Sobekhotep's steward, Ptahmose, who was shown in tomb 63.<sup>118</sup>

The only legal papyrus dated to the reign of Thutmose IV places Sobekhotep in some relief. Papyrus Munich 809 is a record of civil procedure in the early New Kingdom.<sup>119</sup> The papyrus records the outcome of a court proceeding in the palace at Thebes before notable dignitaries of the land, including both viziers. The court has therefore been generally termed a "vizier's court." The case preserved in Munich 809 was probably one of several decided by that court, but it is the only one preserved for us. Sobekhotep, the treasurer, acted as legal representative for the cause of Hathor's temple at Gebelein, and the court found his position to be correct. Unfortunately, most of his speech before the *kenbet* assembly is lost in lacunae, although its conclusion is intact. We learn that the treasurer asserted that revenues due the temple had been unchanged since the reign of Ahmose, although a challenge brought in the reign of Thutmose III had apparently been recently raised as argument by the soldier Mery. On being judged wrong, Mery was given one hundred blows with the bastinado, most likely for bringing a false case. Exactly what effect the case's outcome would have on Mery's personal finances remains unclear. Nor is it certain whether the treasurer generally performed the duty of legal counsel. Perhaps the court, convened by viziers who were Sobekhotep's superiors, charged him with the responsibility. Probably Sobekhotep was not representing his position or

himself but was present to speak for the temple, possibly having been retained because of his influence. If such was the case, it was warranted, since Sobekhotep won the case for the temple, with the soldier Mery being beaten for his trouble.

Clearly the royal administration prospered during Thutmose IV's rule, court and bureaucratic connections supplanting military ones almost entirely. The rank of "general" or "military officer" is practically unknown in the period, while that of "royal scribe" abounds such that even the viceroy of Nubia, named Amenhotep, was of that "paper pusher's" background.<sup>120</sup> The office of "scribe of recruits" was never so well attested, but that the holders were often clearly court associates suggests that the position required not the hardened military man but the loyal civil official.<sup>121</sup> With the exception of the Konosso "police action" (already discussed in this chapter), even the employment to which the levied "recruits" (*nfrw*) were put in this period and later remains a mystery. It would not surprise us to find that they were as common in quarry expeditions and building enterprises as in military maneuvers. Likewise several holders of the position "standard-bearer for the ship *Meryamun*" are known from the reigns of Amenhotep II through Amenhotep III. Rather than being a warship, the *Meryamun* was a state barge, probably the Theban counterpart to the *Star of Memphis*, which carried the ruler and his associates on court missions.

Thutmose IV's reign provides a visible period of transition for Egypt from a military machine to a great power. As the king responded to the potential of his affluent economy, he recognized the need for capable bureaucrats and diplomats rather than pure militarists. This change is already perceptible in the later administration of Amenhotep II, dominated as it was by royal stewards and priests. The shift from armed expeditions to domestic projects also focused attention more on the person of the king as an embodiment of creative divinity (i.e., the sun god Ra) rather than of military victory (i.e., Horus the protector of his father). Thutmose IV's monuments and even the late jubilee pavilion of Amenhotep II at Karnak underline the shift that solarized the kingship. Solar iconographic elements so characteristic of Amenhotep III's art, such as uraei and horns, crept into royal images more and more so that the king might further partake of Ra's greatness. The

120. See Bryan (1991) 250–55 for discussion of Amenhotep and the office of "king's son of Kush."

121. Ibid. 279–85, "Military Administration: Administrative Officers." Some eight "military scribes" (*sš mšw*) and six "scribes of elite troops" (*sš nfrw*, largely identical with "army scribes") are known from the reign, versus two "military officers" (*mr mšw*, again two of those listed as army scribes).

116. Van den Boorn (1988).

117. Bryan (1991) 103–7; *Urk.* IV 1586–88 = Berlin no. 11635 and Marseille no. 208.

118. *Urk.* IV 1583; Statue Florence no. 1506 = *Urk.* IV 1916.

119. Bryan (1991) 245–46, with references. See also Seidl (1951) 25–26; Theodoridès (1967) 126–27; idem (1980) 37–38.



colossal relief image of Thutmose IV from his court at Karnak, sporting uraei with sun disks and carved with an enormous oblique, almond-shaped eye shows him offering mountains of presents to the god Amon. The king has become the source of all creation, portrayed in a solarized, idealized, and youthful form (fig. 2.8). Enter Amenhotep III.

### Chapter 3

## Monuments and Monumental Art under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning

*W. Raymond Johnson*

Any discussion of the monuments and monumental art executed during Amenhotep III's reign is complicated at the outset by an almost embarrassing abundance of riches. One finds oneself awash in a sea of data, each and every bit worthy of the most intense and detailed scrutiny. Making things worse, or better, depending on one's point of view, is the flood of new information pertinent to Amenhotep III's reign surfacing every year, painstakingly wrested from the concealing debris of the centuries by such groups as the Egypt Exploration Society at Memphis, the French Archaeological Mission of the Bubasteion at Saqqara, the Swiss Institute in West Thebes, the Japanese Mission in West Thebes, and the Epigraphic Survey at Luxor temple, among many others. Of particular note during the summer of 1992 was the Cleveland Museum of Art's long-awaited exhibition of royal and private art from Amenhotep III's reign, accompanied by a catalog that will be the major reference work on the period for years to come.<sup>1</sup> Whenever possible, new information has been incorporated into this study where pertinent (and permissible), although there is much significant material still being processed that must wait for later.

Since this is to be one chapter among many and not a book unto itself, this author has attempted to be as concise as possible (with lapses). The first section outlines the known building activities of Amenhotep III and is more of a guide to these activities than a comprehensive last word on them. The immediate focus of this author's work has been, and is here, in the second

1. The 1992 Cleveland Museum of Art exhibition and catalog *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* was the culmination of over a decade's work on the part of Betsy M. Bryan, Arielle P. Kozloff, and Lawrence M. Berman. This author owes a debt of gratitude to Betsy M. Bryan in particular, who in 1986 launched him on the road he follows now. Their thoughtful work will be cited often throughout this chapter.



section, the study of Amenhotep's carved-relief decoration.<sup>2</sup> As often as possible, sculpture and painting are discussed as well, particularly when they display stylistic changes that occur in the relief work or when their monumental context is known. The significance of these changes and their bearing on theological and chronological problems of the period are briefly discussed in the third section.

### The Monuments of Amenhotep III

Few pharaohs from any period in Egyptian history are as noteworthy for their monument-building activities as Amenhotep III. Two rock-cut stelae at the Tura quarries that commemorate the hewing of fine limestone for "his mansions of millions of years"<sup>3</sup> in Amenhotep's first and second (fig. 3.1) regnal years,<sup>4</sup> as well as another similar inscription from Bersha,<sup>5</sup> indicate that this activity was already well underway at the beginning of his reign. Beautifying, enlarging, and renewing the great cult centers of Egypt were foremost among Amenhotep III's lifelong occupations. By the end of his thirty-eight years on the throne, Amenhotep had transformed his entire country into an imperial showplace befitting Egypt's role as the center of the cosmopolitan world.

The known monuments of Amenhotep III stretch from the Delta region in the north to as far south as the Third Cataract in Nubia. More often than not, these monuments survive today only in fragmentary form, due to extensive dismantling and reuse by Amenhotep III's own successors, and due to later, further reuse in postpharaonic constructions. It should be stressed that this fragmentary material often preserves a tremendous amount of information pertinent to otherwise vanished cult centers and at the very least allows for the identification of a particular monument at a particular site.

The Delta sites of Bubastis<sup>6</sup> and Athribis<sup>7</sup> preserve only remnants of Amenhotep III's stone buildings there. The same is true for his monuments in

2. Johnson (1990); idem (1993) 231–36. Much of the information from the second part of this chapter derives from Johnson (1990). All photographs and line drawings are by the author unless otherwise indicated.

3. No clearer identification is offered.

4. Vyse (1842) 97–98, plate opposite p. 97. Part of the Tura relief dated to Amenhotep's year 2 has recently been identified in the collection of the Toledo Museum of Art (25.522) by Berman in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 116–17; see also "Toledo Museum of Art: The Art of Egypt," part 2, *Museum News* (fall 1971): fig. 1.

5. Dated to his regnal year 1; Porter and Moss (1934) 185.

6. Naville (1891) 31–34.

7. See Fairman (1960) 80–82 for a block, now lost, that preserves alternating cartouches of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, possibly part of an upper decorative frieze.

Heliopolis,<sup>8</sup> Memphis, and Saqqara,<sup>9</sup> where diligent detective work is required to find any trace of them at all. Amenhotep III's greatest monument in Memphis, his temple of "Nebmaatru-United-with-Ptah," is fortunately described in detail in an autobiographical inscription engraved on a statue of the official responsible for its construction, Amenhotep the high steward of Memphis.<sup>10</sup> All that remains of this temple is the text describing it; two colossal, quartzite statues of Ptah that Ramses II usurped;<sup>11</sup> some quartzite blocks excavated by Petrie;<sup>12</sup> and limestone blocks reused in one of Ramses II's chapels to Ptah, which was located outside the enclosure wall at the southwest corner of the present temple of Ptah.<sup>13</sup>

Amenhotep III's monuments in Middle Egypt have fared as poorly as their northern counterparts, but the scraps that survive give us an important hint of his accomplishments there. Kom Medinet Gurob in the Fayum preserves the tattered remains of a harem palace occupied during Amenhotep's reign.<sup>14</sup> Scattered limestone blocks reused by Ramses III farther south indicate that Amenhotep built a temple to Horus at Hebenu (Kom el-Ahmar), near modern Minya.<sup>15</sup> He embellished an elaborate temple to Thoth at Hermopolis with at least four colossal baboons in quartzite, one of which was four and a half meters tall even without its crowning moon disk (fig. 3.2).<sup>16</sup> An engraved bark pedestal of Amenhotep III, in alabaster,<sup>17</sup> and two fragments of

8. Moursi and Balbousch (1975) 85–91, figs. 1–3, pls. 29b–d and 30a.

9. The tomb chapel and burial place of the first Apis bull; Porter and Moss (1974) 780.

10. See Morkot (1990) 325–35. The temple is described as having been built in arable land—i.e., the cultivation—in the same manner as most of Amenhotep's mortuary temple in West Thebes. It should be noted that throughout the steward Amenhotep's inscription, Amenhotep III's praenomen, *Nebmaatru*, is consistently spelled in a rebus form (examined later in this chapter) found only after Amenhotep III's thirtieth regnal year, which suggests that the temple was finished around that time.

11. Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 75.

12. Petrie (1910) 39, pl. XXIX 2 (*BMFA* 10.650) and 3 (Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, AEIN 1152).

13. Anthes (1956) 3–25, figs. 1–4; also idem (1959) pls. 25–26; idem (1965) 5. The Egypt Exploration Society (EES) is currently documenting the Ptah chapel for publication; see Jeffreys (1985) pls. 30–34. The present author is currently documenting the reused Amenhotep III material for the EES; see now Johnson (1996a) 3–5.

14. Kemp (1978a) 122–33.

15. Kessler (1981) 215–22. It has recently been suggested that the Cleveland Museum limestone nome-god reliefs (61.205, 76.51) come from this site; see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 75 and 118–20.

16. Spencer (1989) 64, 71, pls. 93–97. They were found in pieces, reused in later foundations of Philip Arrhidæus; see Bailey, Davies, and Spencer (1982) 6–10, pls. 7a–11b, 24a–27c.

17. Spencer (1989) 33–34, pls. 39–46; Spencer, Bailey, and Burnett (1983) 5–7, pl. 2, figs. 20–23.



limestone relief that may have come from his temple proper<sup>18</sup> were found reused in a later part of the complex.

The aforementioned inscription from the limestone quarries at Bersha refers to quarrying there in Amenhotep III's first regnal year, although it is not certain for which monument. Further south, at Abydos, foundation deposits of this king were excavated by Petrie in the Osiris temple precinct. They are all that is left of a large structure, possibly a court, added by Amenhotep to an earlier temple of Thutmose III. Petrie later excavated a number of limestone blocks reused in a late-period pavement to the south, several of which he dated to Amenhotep III's reign, and which were probably part of the large structure that Amenhotep added to the earlier temple.<sup>19</sup>

A relief in Hathor's great temple at Dendera suggests that Amenhotep III built or added to an earlier monument there as well. In subterranean crypt number 1, beneath the long south stairway, is a scene depicting the god Hapi crowned with a double-plumed cartouche containing Amenhotep's praenomen, Nebmaatra—an unusual, but perhaps significant, homage.<sup>20</sup>

Lower populations in medieval Upper Egypt resulted in far less monument quarrying there than in the north, and far greater numbers of pharaonic monuments have thus survived to the present day. Thebes (modern Luxor), in particular, contains the highest concentration of New Kingdom monuments anywhere in Egypt, including some of the finest, and largest, structures Amenhotep III ever built.

The entire city of Thebes on both sides of the Nile was essentially one huge temple complex dedicated to the cult of the primeval creator god/sun god Amon-Ra and was divided into four distinct sections. The temple where Amon was born (and reborn, during the annual Festival of Opet) is located on the east bank, the land of the rising sun; it faces north and was called *Ipet Resyet* (Luxor temple). Two miles to the north on the east bank lies massive Karnak, *Ipet Swt*, facing west, where Amon resided in palatial splendor for most of the year. Across the river, in the land of the dead, rose the royal mortuary temples, ranged along the desert edge and facing east; there Amon was worshiped as the deceased king. Finally, at the southern end of the mortuary-temple field and directly across the river from Luxor temple lies the small Amon temple of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, now enclosed

within the precinct walls of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, the traditional burial place of Amon and seven other primeval gods.

Amenhotep III was responsible for multiple building projects within each of these four areas. Stelae from his own mortuary temple,<sup>21</sup> temple foundation texts, and the substantial remains of the monuments themselves bear eloquent testimony to his extraordinary accomplishments in this most favored of cult centers.

Luxor temple is Amenhotep III's best-preserved Theban monument, the product of at least three great building campaigns from the middle to the end of his reign.<sup>22</sup> In his first building phase Amenhotep completely replaced an earlier temple of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III with a new sandstone temple proper and papyrus-column portico, similar in form but considerably larger than its predecessor.<sup>23</sup> Late in his third decade a second building phase (fig. 3.3) enclosed the fore area of the temple within a large solar court of papyrus-bundle columns matching the portico.<sup>24</sup> Finally, during his fourth and last decade, Amenhotep initiated his final and most ambitious addition of all, a gigantic entrance hall over fifty meters long and supported by two rows of open papyrus columns, which remained unfinished at his death (fig. 3.4).<sup>25</sup> Despite the quarrying of the roof and a substantial portion of its side walls, the great Colonnade Hall, with its fourteen intact columns and architraves (totaling twenty-one meters in height), remains an architectural wonder, still one of the most beautiful and impressive sights in Egypt. Amenhotep embellished his Luxor temple structures with a half-dozen colossal striding statues of himself in granite (all moved by Ramses II to his Luxor temple

21. See in particular the building inscription stela (the reverse of the Israel stela) Cairo CG 34025, found by Petrie reused in Merenptah's mortuary temple; Petrie (1897) 13 and 23–26; *Urk.* IV 1646–57.

22. The Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, has just released *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple*, vol. 1, *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall* (1994). Additional volumes documenting the rest of Amenhotep's Luxor temple are forthcoming.

23. Large limestone blocks reused in the bark sanctuary floor and small granite papyrus-bundle columns reused by Ramses II in his first court shrine are undoubtedly remnants of the earlier temple. Much of Amenhotep's Luxor temple is built of reused blocks whose original decorated surfaces have been carefully chiseled away, unlike the monuments reused in his Karnak Third Pylon (see discussion later in this chapter).

24. A socle inscription originally running along the front of the platform of Amenhotep's temple proper can be seen passing beneath the southernmost sun-court column on the east side of the court. Where the sun-court walls abut the temple proper, they are not bonded to but were simply built against the earlier walls.

25. Johnson (1990) 29–30.

18. Roeder (1959) pls. 61a and b; idem (1969) pl. 168, 670–V.

19. Petrie (1902) 31; idem (1903) 19; also Kemp (1968) 144 and 146–47. One of these blocks may have ended up at the Bolton Museum and Art Gallery, England; see Thomas (1979) 23–24.

20. Porter and Moss (1939) 81 (8); Mariette (1871) pls. 2 (plan), 4 (elevation), and 12.



forecourt, where he later usurped them)<sup>26</sup> and with at least one even larger statue, which was set up by Ramses II outside his Luxor temple pylons on the far west side.

Although numerous statues of Amenhotep III have been recovered from the Luxor temple precinct over the years,<sup>27</sup> a recently discovered cache of statuary in his solar court included several more significant pieces from his reign: seated statues of the goddesses Hathor and Iunet (both of granodiorite); a small, seated dyad in basalt of Amenhotep and the god Horus; and a remarkable quartzite statue of a striding Amenhotep III on a sledge, standing against a round-topped stela (fig. 3.5).<sup>28</sup> The seated goddesses, inscribed for Luxor temple, match a similarly inscribed seated statue of an anthropomorphic Anubis excavated earlier,<sup>29</sup> all undoubtedly part of a set of sculptures executed for the back shrines and solar court of Amenhotep's Luxor temple. Their matt finish is in sharp contrast to Amenhotep's typical granitic sculpture, which is ordinarily highly polished. The matt finish and singular, almost shocking lack of detail on these statues may indicate the presence originally of a gilded gesso overlay that contained the lacking detail. The crown, collar, bracelets, and sandals of the quartzite statue of Amenhotep on the sledge are roughened in the same way for the application of similar gilded detail.

According to the monument stela, somewhere in front of (*khefet hr*) Luxor temple was to be found a viewing place (*maru*)<sup>30</sup> built by Amenhotep III for Amon-Ra. Although it is described as being surrounded by gardens and having its own sacred lake, its exact nature, function, and location, presumably somewhere along the sacred way linking Luxor and Karnak temples, are still subject to ongoing discussion.<sup>31</sup>

Two of Amenhotep III's earliest projects at Karnak involved the completion of monuments begun there by his father, Thutmose IV. Amenhotep finished the decoration of a large alabaster bark sanctuary of Thutmose IV,<sup>32</sup> including in the decoration a figure of himself. And he added a decorated

26. Ramses II had his own colossi (labeled with the early spelling of his name, *Re-ms-s*) carved to complement Amenhotep's colossi, and he set both groups up side by side in his court early in his reign. Only in his third decade did he usurp the Amenhotep III colossi with the later spelling of his name, *Re-ms-sw*, prior to the celebration of his first jubilee. This author will address the theological rationale for Ramses II's extensive usurpations in another study.

27. See Muhammad (1968) 227–79.

28. el-Saghir (1991b).

29. Copenhagen AEIN 33; Vandier (1958) pl. CXXIV, 1.

30. Badawy (1968) 212; *Urk.* IV 1651.

31. Kemp and O'Connor (1974) 131. For the identification of Amenhotep's *maru* with Mut temple at Karnak, see Manniche (1979) 271–73.

32. Porter and Moss (1972) 71–74.

gate<sup>33</sup> to a forecourt that Thutmose II and Thutmose IV had built and decorated in front of the Fourth Pylon.<sup>34</sup> Paradoxically, both monuments were later completely dismantled by Amenhotep III and were found reused as fill within his own Third Pylon, which appears to have displaced them.

Amenhotep's Third Pylon and porch, positioned directly in front of the Fourth Pylon, were conceived as a great entryway into the Karnak complex. The porch, long assumed to have been added to the monument by Amenhotep IV, who is depicted in gigantic smiting scenes on the north and south exterior sides,<sup>35</sup> was actually added by Amenhotep III before his carving of the flag-mast inscriptions and was decorated by Amenhotep IV later.<sup>36</sup>

Excavations have revealed that the Third Pylon's foundations rest on a bed of clean sand that extends under the two central rows of open papyrus columns in the Hypostyle Hall, but not under the smaller side halls.<sup>37</sup> It is possible, then, that Amenhotep III was also responsible for erecting the two central rows of columns, to support an entrance hall even larger than the Colonnade Hall of Luxor temple.<sup>38</sup>

Amenhotep III was responsible for at least three other building projects within the Karnak Amon precinct. He built a mud-brick storehouse of Amon with stone portals;<sup>39</sup> added reliefs of himself on the west face of the Fifth Pylon;<sup>40</sup> and began the construction of the southern gateway of Karnak, the

33. *Ibid.*, 74.

34. *Ibid.*, 72. Thutmose IV added square sandstone columns and a decorated sandstone veneer to the interior walls of Thutmose II's limestone court. See Letellier (1979) 51–72. The physical reconstruction of part of the dismantled court of Thutmose IV in the Karnak Open-Air Museum was begun in 1989 by the Karnak Franco-Egyptian Center under the direction of François Larchet. For a recent study of the Thutmose II court and the Amenhotep III doorway added to it, see Gabolde (1993) 1–99.

35. Sa'ad (1970) 187–93, figs. 1, 3; also more recently Golvin (1987) 190.

36. All of the pylon mast emplacements were inscribed by Amenhotep III with vertical columns of text on both sides in shallow sunk relief; see Bakry (1968) 9–13, pls. xxiii–xxvi. Where the porch abuts the southern pylon, the left side of the leftmost mast emplacement is covered, leaving only the mast slot and righthand inscription exposed. Inspection of the covered area in the space between it and the porch shows no carving at all, indicating that the porch was added before the inscription was carved (author's personal observation). The porch also covers and conceals small smiting scenes of Amenhotep III carved in shallow sunk relief on either side of the jambs (the king's kilt and cobra sporran on the southern pylon are still visible today from above). See Golvin (1987) 190, pl. Va (plan). Thanks to Christian Loeben for bringing the relief to this author's attention.

37. F. Traunecker (1986) 44–45.

38. The north and south side halls with their smaller, papyrus-bud columns would have been added later by Sety I and Ramses II.

39. For "The Storehouse of Nebmaatere: Amun, Great of Provisions," see Schaden (1987) 13–14, figs. 9 and 10; see also Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 102.

40. Discussed in the second section of this chapter.



Tenth Pylon (possibly in concert with the Colonnade Hall at the other end of the sacred way), which remained unfinished at his death (fig. 3.6).<sup>41</sup> A colossal striding statue of Amenhotep in rose quartzite, called *Nebmaatra, Montu of the Rulers*, was set up at this gate (fig. 3.7); it is possibly the largest (it is over twenty meters high) of several such quartzite colossi that Amenhotep son of Hapu prepared for the celebration of his lord's first jubilee (*Heb Sed*).<sup>42</sup>

Amenhotep may have enlarged the preexisting Mut temple, which faces north, and added a solar court, although as yet there is no firm archaeological evidence for his role in its construction. His presence and activity there has generally been assumed on the basis of hundreds of seated, lion-headed Sekhmet statues of granodiorite, crowned with solar disks, inscribed with his names, and found ranged around courts and hallways throughout Mut temple. There is a great possibility, however, that these statues were brought to Mut temple later in the Twenty-first Dynasty from the mortuary complex of Amenhotep III. Sekhmet is associated with Mut as her fiery, destructive aspect, but the rationale for the great numbers of Sekhmet's statues is still a mystery, undoubtedly related to the role of the king as the pacifier of this fiery eye.<sup>43</sup>

To the north of the main Amon precinct at Karnak was another temple of Amon, facing north, which was later dedicated to the god Montu (fig. 3.8).<sup>44</sup> As at Luxor temple, Amenhotep III replaced an earlier structure here with a new sandstone temple (called *Khaemmaat*, after his Horus name) which he proceeded to modify several times during his reign. In a second building phase the back shrine area was extended and a solar court was added to the temple proper. A small "contratemple" of Maat was added to the back of the

temple at some point, in reverse orientation.<sup>45</sup> A third phase saw the addition of a great ramp to the fore area. Fragments of two granite obelisks were found in conjunction with the ramp,<sup>46</sup> and two larger than life-size quartzite statues of the king holding the standard of Amon were found carefully buried in pits on either side of the later precinct gateway, literally in thousands of pieces. Painstakingly reconstructed by the excavators, they depict the king in a short Nubian wig, a fillet, and extremely elaborate aprons, dripping with solar iconography (fig. 3.9).<sup>47</sup>

Across the river, in the land of the dead, Amenhotep III inherited a tomb in the Western Valley (just west of the Valley of the Kings), WV 22, begun by his father Thutmose IV.<sup>48</sup> Amenhotep extended, enlarged, and decorated this tomb with painted scenes on plaster depicting his welcome into the netherworld by various deities, such as Hathor, Osiris, Anubis, and the goddess of the West.<sup>49</sup> The burial chamber decoration also included elaborate underworld texts painted on the surrounding walls, as well as a sunken area that originally housed the sarcophagus and its gilded shrines, within which Amenhotep was eventually laid to rest.<sup>50</sup> Only the red-granite sarcophagus lid survives, a figure of the sky goddess Nut, with arms and wings outstretched, carved on its underside.<sup>51</sup>

Amenhotep III's mortuary temple proper (modern Kom el-Hetan) was begun early in his reign and, like most of his monuments, was greatly enlarged in subsequent building campaigns during his last decades (fig. 3.10). A great solar court of papyrus-bundle columns was added to the mortuary temple proper, covering *four times* the area of Amenhotep's Luxor temple court.<sup>52</sup> The traditional two sets of mud-brick entrance pylons were ex-

41. Only eight courses were in place at Amenhotep's death; see Azim (1982) 127–66. The sunk-relief door thicknesses inscribed for Amenhotep III and depicting him as a statue, discussed by Loeben (1987) 207–23, have been left out of this discussion because this author feels the carving is entirely in the style of Sety II, who signed the relief. Sety II also associates himself with Amenhotep III at Luxor temple on the northwest side gate of Amenhotep's solar court and within the Luxor precinct in the form of marginal inscriptions.

42. See Habachi (1969) 48; see also Clère, Ménassa, and Deleuze (1975) 159–66. For Amenhotep son of Hapu's role as "overseer of all the works of the king," see Murnane (1991) 56.

43. It is said that over seven hundred Sekhmet statues, or two for every day of the year, were found at Karnak (including Mut temple) in the nineteenth century. See Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 225; Yoyotte (1980) 46–75.

44. Gabolde and Rondot (1993) 245–64; Barguet and Leclant (1954). See also Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 99–102. This monument is probably the "Khaemmaat" Amun temple mentioned in Amenhotep's monument stela; see *ibid.*, 102.

45. Varille (1943) 21–27.

46. The only obelisks of Amenhotep III known to this author.

47. Barguet and Leclant (1954) 157–61, pls. CXXXVII–CXLVI.

48. In addition to his tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 43), in which he was interred, Thutmose IV was excavating a similar-sized tomb in the Western Valley. Foundation deposits found outside the tomb entrance are all inscribed for Thutmose IV alone, and recently an additional foundation deposit (uninscribed) was found by Waseda University, Tokyo, during the course of their clearance of the tomb; see Egyptian Culture Center (1991) 23.

49. Much in the tradition of Thutmose III (KV 34) and Amenhotep II (KV 35). See Piankoff and Hornung (1961) 111–27, pls. XXII–XXVIII.

50. The tops of painted scenes preserved over the doorways leading from the well and the painted antechamber indicate that after Amenhotep's funeral the doors were blocked, plastered over, and decorated with a continuation of the wall scenes.

51. Hayes (1935) 170–71. Of the sarcophagus itself, there is no trace; it may have been reused by a later king.

52. Partially excavated by the Swiss Institute; see Haeny (1981).



panded to three and were extended east, out into the floodplain, creating three enormous courts that were pierced by a processional way down the axis and surrounded by massive enclosure walls. Each set of pylons was guarded by one or more seated colossi of Amenhotep, the westernmost of alabaster, and the two eastern groups of quartzite. The easternmost pylon gateway featured the largest pair of all, the famous Colossi of Memnon,<sup>53</sup> gigantic seated statues of Amenhotep III measuring over twenty meters tall, named *Ruler of the Rulers*, and considered to be gods in their own right (fig. 3.11). Each colossus is flanked by smaller engaged figures of Amenhotep's great royal wife, Tiye, alongside one leg and his mother, Mutemwia, alongside the other, while an unidentified daughter (now destroyed) stood in the space between his ankles.

To the north, and as distant from the mortuary temple as the Colossi of Memnon, lay the great northern gateway to the mortuary complex. This pylon gate was guarded by two striding colossi of the king in quartzite—visible today lying in the cultivation where they fell centuries ago<sup>54</sup>—and by an alleyway of colossal recumbent jackals of whitewashed sandstone, reused as underpaving in the nearby mortuary temple of Merenptah and partly excavated by Petrie.<sup>55</sup> The gate led to an entirely separate temple in Amenhotep's funerary complex, the temple dedicated to the god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who was associated with the mortuary cult and the jubilee.<sup>56</sup> This monument was built in the cultivation, like the mortuary temple, but on a north-south axis facing north, and it appears to have been constructed primarily of limestone (as opposed to the sandstone of the mortuary temple). It was completely dismantled and reused by Merenptah for the construction of his own mortuary temple on the desert edge a stone's throw away. Many of the reused blocks, most of which came from the north gateway of Amenhotep III's mortuary temple, can still be seen at the site of Merenptah's destroyed mortuary temple, currently being reexcavated by the Swiss Institute (fig. 3.12).<sup>57</sup> Petrie also found evidence that Amenhotep III had extensively re-

53. The colossi were associated in Hellenistic times with Memnon, an "Ethiopian" king killed by Achilles in the Trojan War and subsequently made immortal by Zeus. Ramses II's mortuary temple was associated with Memnon's worship (the "Memnonium"), and he was supposed to have been buried in the tomb of Ramses VI (KV 9). For the monument of Men and Bek that commemorates the quarrying of the colossi in Aswan, see Habachi (1965) 85–92.

54. Haeny (1981) pl. 29.

55. Petrie (1897) 9–11.

56. Haeny (1981) 31–37.

57. Under the direction of Horst Jaritz. For a preliminary analysis of the reused Amenhotep III block material, see Bickel and Jaritz (1994) 277–85; see also Jaritz (1994) 14–16.

modeled the Amenhotep II mortuary temple just to the north, although for what purpose is still unclear.<sup>58</sup>

In the late 1800s fragments of a colossal limestone pair statue were recovered from the fields in front of the Ay/Horemheb mortuary temple (immediately to the north of Medinet Habu), in all probability the site of the great south gate of Amenhotep's mortuary complex.<sup>59</sup> The group reconstructed to form a colossal seated dyad over seven meters tall, depicting Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye, with three smaller-scaled daughters at their feet. It is the largest known dyad ever carved and has been the prized centerpiece in the main hall of the Cairo Museum since the turn of the century. Fragments of two additional, even larger, indurated-limestone seated colossi appropriated by Ramses III for reuse in the second court of his mortuary temple can still be seen scattered around the Medinet Habu precinct. It is likely that the two sets of sculptures were originally set up on each side of this south gate.

By Amenhotep's fourth and final decade, his mortuary complex was nothing short of remarkable. It was larger than any mortuary temple built before or after his, larger even than Karnak, then *and* today. From the shattered bits that survive, we can discern that it must have been a veritable mine of statuary, and there are indications that much more of Amenhotep's sculpture was reused by his successors than was previously recognized. Recently it has been pointed out that at least one of two seated colossi in the Ramesseum are recarved Amenhotep III originals,<sup>60</sup> and this author suspects that Ramses' toppled "Ozymandias" colossus in granite, named *Ra-of-the-Rulers*, is actually a missing granite colossus of Amenhotep III that went by the same name.<sup>61</sup> Likewise, not a single Ramses III or deity statue found in Ramses mortuary temple at Medinet Habu can be certified as original to his reign. Every one that this author has seen, either in or from Ramses III's precinct, is unquestionably usurped from his predecessor, Amenhotep III.<sup>62</sup> Ramses III also dismantled Amenhotep's mortuary temple for reuse in the building of his

58. Petrie (1897) 6. Petrie's identification of a partial relief of a princess or queen Sitamun (University College London 14373) as Amenhotep III's daughter is, however, probably erroneous, as the style of the piece in question is decidedly earlier.

59. Like the north gate, the area is as distant from the mortuary temple as the Colossi of Memnon and east gate.

60. The face has been completely reworked to reflect Ramses II's features: see Vanderleyen (1979) 665–69; Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 175.

61. Habachi (1969) 48.

62. Erased names, surface polish, and style identify the usurped pieces; for a few examples from Medinet Habu, see Haeny (1981) pls. 31a and b, 32b, and 33a.



temple of Khonsu at Karnak,<sup>63</sup> and the quarrying continued during the reign of Ramses IV,<sup>64</sup> into the Ptolemaic period, and later.<sup>65</sup>

A general picture of the statue program in Amenhotep's mortuary complex can be reconstructed from sculpture known to have come from the site, combined with fragments that have been uncovered in situ. The great portal colossi have already been mentioned. Standing eight-meter-tall Osiride colossi of the king—in granite on the south side, wearing the white crown, and in quartzite on the north, wearing the red crown—originally stood between the columns of the solar court.<sup>66</sup> The avenues were lined with sphinxes, including one in alabaster with a crocodile's tail,<sup>67</sup> and possibly with recumbent rams with small mummiform figures of the king between their folded forelegs, later found along the processional way in front of Khonsu at Karnak. A life-size quartzite head of Amenhotep III in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts is comparable to a type of Osiride statue that lined the causeways of Eleventh Dynasty royal mortuary temples, and it may indicate the presence of a similar avenue in his own.<sup>68</sup>

As mentioned earlier, recumbent jackals on pedestals guarding figures of the king beneath their chins led the approach through the north gate. Fragments of colossal indurated-limestone statues of Amenhotep in the company of one or more deities were also found in Merenptah's mortuary temple, usurped for Merenptah's own use and broken into pieces when his temple

63. Also reused in Khonsu temple were blocks from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu, large blocks stylistically and iconographically assignable to the time of Akhenaten, at least one block of Serty I (in the foundation of the east pylon), and other blocks from one or more monuments of Ramses II, one of them usurped from Horemheb in the back west sanctuary area (author's own observation). See Borchardt (1926) 37–51. For a study of the Akhenaten-style blocks, see Anus (1970) 69–88.

64. See *ibid.*, 69–70; see also Habachi (1955) 195.

65. The Ptolemaic Pylon of the small Amun temple at Medinet Habu is made completely of reused blocks, mostly from the Ramesseum, but also some from Amenhotep III's mortuary temple; see Porter and Moss (1972) 462. Three additional sandstone blocks from Amenhotep's mortuary temple were reused as reinforcement in the western enclosure wall of Ramses III's mortuary complex at Medinet Habu and probably date to this time or later; they were excavated by the Architectural Survey of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago; see Van Siclen (1986a) 189–206. Note that in scene D on block 2 (fig. 7) the deity is actually male; traces of a beard and tail are clearly visible in the photograph.

66. Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 154–58.

67. In addition, a headless sphinx of Queen Tiye still lies upside down at the entryway to the sun court. See Haeny (1981) pls. 11a and b; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 216, fig. VII.3.

68. BMFA 09.288; cf. Luxor Museum of Ancient Art (1979), King Mentuhotep III as Osiris, 19–21, figs. 12 and 13.

was later quarried in its turn.<sup>69</sup> The heads of two of these colossi are on display in the main sculpture hall of the British Museum.<sup>70</sup>

Of particular interest are the hundreds of statues of divinities that embellished the complex on all sides. Statues of the lion-headed, disk-crowned goddess Sekhmet have been found in great numbers throughout the site, some seated as in the Mut temple at Karnak, but most standing, holding a papyrus scepter. A large group of them may have been ranged around one of the eastern forecourts, only to be removed early in the nineteenth century by collectors.<sup>71</sup>

Dozens of deities are represented by other statue remains, and undoubtedly all the major gods were present within the mortuary precinct, set up in niches around one of the columned halls or great courts (fig. 3.13). It has been suggested that, in assembling sets of these statues here and elsewhere, Amenhotep III took the role of Ptah, creator of the gods as defined in the Memphite theology, gathering the images of the gods and uniting with them, perhaps as part of his jubilee celebration. The precedent of King Djoser is cited, who in the Third Dynasty constructed an elaborate jubilee court that housed similar statuary within his own vast mortuary complex.<sup>72</sup>

To the south of Amenhotep's mortuary precinct and still along the desert edge lay his sprawling mud-brick palace complex, named the Palace of the Dazzling Sun Disk (Aten) and the House of Rejoicing (modern Malqata) (fig. 3.14). Dated jar labels indicate that the site was occupied primarily from the celebration of Amenhotep's first jubilee in year 30 until his death in year 38 or 39.<sup>73</sup> It was, in effect, a jubilee palace, with several building periods, roughly corresponding to the celebration of his three jubilees in years 30, 34, and 37. The residential complex was built alongside a great harbor, the Birket Habu, which was considerably enlarged toward the end of Amenhotep's reign (to its present two-and-a-half-kilometer length) and remained unfinished at his death. Part of the original palace complex, dated by painted inscriptions to the first jubilee, was demolished when the harbor was expanded,<sup>74</sup> and it was found by excavators under a section of the western row of spoil heaps, great mounds of earth and debris from the digging of the

69. Hourig Sourouzian is currently documenting and reconstructing these giants for the Swiss Institute.

70. British Museum EA 3, head of Amenhotep III, and 602, head of a goddess or Queen Tiye.

71. The Vatican Sekhmet's undoubtedly come from this site. For excavated examples, see Haeny (1981) pls. 21–23, 34 and 35.

72. Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 135–36.

73. Hayes (1951) 36–37 and following.

74. Kemp (1989) 203, fig. 71; the expansion may actually have been to the north.



harbor, carefully piled around its perimeter in ordered rows.<sup>75</sup> The palace of the king, west villas (the administrative area), and middle palace, oriented to Amenhotep's mortuary temple, were probably part of the original complex, while the north palace, audience pavilion, and Amon temple, all oriented to the enlarged harbor, date to the later jubilees.<sup>76</sup>

The site straddles the line between the desert and cultivation, and only what was built in the desert area survives in any form at all—usually the very lowest parts of melted away mud-brick walls. The suite of royal apartments, including a bedchamber of the king and several audience halls, is the best preserved part of the palace, due to thicker mud-brick supporting walls.<sup>77</sup> The rooms were decorated with brightly painted plaster scenes on walls, ceilings, and even some floors, samples of which were excavated by Daressy in 1888 and are on view in the Cairo Museum. Other fragments were recovered by the Metropolitan Museum of Art,<sup>78</sup> and still others are currently being reexcavated and assembled by the Japanese Mission from Waseda University, including a major part of the ceiling from Amenhotep's bedchamber, decorated with flying vultures and cartouches of the king.<sup>79</sup>

Excavations at Medinet Habu and the Ay/Horemheb mortuary temple suggest that the support town for Amenhotep's palace extended from the northern limit of the palace all the way to his mortuary temple precinct, a distance of one and a half kilometers.<sup>80</sup> This town encompassed the area around the small Amon temple of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III but was separated from it by a massive mud-brick wall built, probably for that purpose, by Amenhotep III.<sup>81</sup> Evidence that extensive landscaping preparations to the south and west of the main palace site were made in conjunction with the enlarging of the harbor indicate that Amenhotep was planning to enlarge his palace city dramatically. His death seems to have brought the expansion to an abrupt halt.

Another "Birket" harbor exists on the east bank, directly across the Nile from the Malqata Birket Habu on the west. Clearly visible in the *Description*

75. See Kemp and O'Connor (1974) 101–36.

76. Jar labels from the Amun temple at Malqata are specifically dated to Amenhotep's second jubilee in year 34; see Hayes (1951) 84–85.

77. Reflecting high ceilings and possibly an upper story over the king's bedchamber.

78. Hayes (1959) 245–47; also Smith (1981) 281–95.

79. Egyptian Culture Center (1991) 15–16. See also Nishimoto (1992) 69–80.

80. Hölscher (1939) 68–74. A large workmen's village area was also present to the south of the palace precinct along the western Birket Habu "hills."

81. *Ibid.*, 33. The mud bricks were stamped with Amenhotep's name.

map of the Theban area,<sup>82</sup> it is smaller than the enlarged Birket Habu and probably reflects the original size of its western counterpart. There is no doubt that the two harbors are pendant to each other, constructed by Amenhotep III for water rites associated with his jubilee (discussed later in this chapter), celebrated at Malqata and probably on the east bank as well.

A raised causeway reinforced in some areas with mud brick ran from the back of Amenhotep's mortuary temple to the west gate of the Malqata palace precinct and continued southeastward for two and a half kilometers to a site in the desert called Kom el-Samak.<sup>83</sup> The Japanese excavators found a *Heb Sed* pavilion on a raised casemate platform (oriented northeast to southwest) intentionally buried under a mound of sand. The structure, built of mud brick stamped with Amenhotep's cartouche, had at least two building phases and had been brilliantly painted; a flight of twenty steps when excavated preserved painted figures of bound captives alternating with bound bows, on which the king ritually trod during the jubilee rites.

Two kilometers to the south and west of Kom el-Samak lies what might be Amenhotep's most enigmatic monument, Kom el-Abd. The site consists of another raised casemate platform in mud brick, facing northwest, with an adjoining rest house for the king and six smaller house units on the southeast. Whatever superstructure there was on the platform is now gone, although in such architecture the underlying support walls of the platform usually reflect the plan of the structure above. The complex faces a rocky spur (Kola el-Hamra), beyond and out of sight of which is a cleared, one-hundred-meter-wide strip that runs straight as an arrow for *five kilometers*, to a wadi opening in the desert cliffs.<sup>84</sup>

The cleared strip is unfinished, growing narrower at its western end, where stones in the process of being cleared have been left in piles, abandoned when work stopped over three thousand years ago. That the strip is the very preliminary stage of something is certain, but what that something was is problematic. The uneven ground of the strip is unsuitable for a chariot run, and its great length precludes a monument, but it could have been the beginning stages of a road or causeway leading to something that was in-

82. Commission des Monuments d'Égypte (1809b) pl. 1. Both harbors are labeled "hippodrome" on the mistaken assumption that something so large had to be a Roman racetrack. Daressy thought it was a ruined Roman camp; see Daressy (1920) 242–46. This author visited the site a few years ago and noted that some of the older buildings in the village crowning the eastern spoil heaps appeared to be partly constructed of large, ancient bricks similar in size to the bricks utilized at Malqata.

83. Near Deir el-Shelwit. It is called "Mound of the Fish" for the late-period fish burials found there. See Watanabe (1986); Egyptian Culture Center (1991) 9–10.

84. Kemp (1977) 71–82.



tended to be built at its far end. It is extremely interesting to note that excavations of the Coptic monastery of Saint Phoebammon located within the cleft at the end of the strip turned up pharaonic blocks carved in light sunk relief, reused as flooring in one of the Coptic rooms.<sup>85</sup>

In 1966 canal diggers working in the town of Al-Mahamid Qibly, fifteen kilometers south of Armant, uncovered part of a temple dedicated to the crocodile god Sobek-Ra, lord of Sumenu. Subsequent excavation in the area uncovered part of a paved court and gate (facing east), numerous private stela and votive statues from the reign of Amenhotep III, and an enigmatic limestone chamber filled with water, which was found to contain a large alabaster dyad of Amenhotep III and Sobek-Ra usurped by Ramses II. The dyad and the best of the votive objects were transported to Luxor, where they can now be viewed in the Luxor Museum.<sup>86</sup>

One of Amenhotep's earliest monuments was dedicated to the vulture goddess of Upper Egypt, Nekhbet. Built at the mouth of the Wadi Hellal to the east of Nekhbet's cult place at El-Kab, it is a small bark chapel possibly begun by Amenhotep's father, Thutmose IV, who is represented on the front interior wall, receiving offerings with his son. The chapel retains its roof (upheld by Hathor columns), most of its raised-relief decoration (a small section partly reworked in the Hellenistic period), and a good deal of its paint. It is an excellent example of some of Amenhotep's earlier work. Betsy M. Bryan has recently proposed evidence of a later phase of Amenhotep's decoration in the chapel: Hathor heads on the central row of columns do not match those on the wall frieze, and an unfinished dado of bulls in a papyrus marsh, stylistically late, was halted in midexecution, possibly at the king's death.<sup>87</sup>

The destruction in 1822 of Amenhotep III's largely intact peripteral chapel to ram-headed Khnum on Elephantine Island at Aswan was a terrible loss to Egyptology. It survives today only in the form of detailed plans and drawings in the published record of Napoleon's expedition to Egypt from 1800, proof positive of the inestimable value of epigraphy.<sup>88</sup> The structure was built facing east on a raised, chambered platform and was approached by a long

85. Bachatly (1981) pls. XC A and B. The badly battered fragments depict parts of chariot scenes.

86. The main part of the temple lies beneath the modern town; the stone chamber containing the dyad, probably part of a breeding area for sacred crocodiles, was made of reused blocks and was also moved to Luxor. See Bakry (1971) 130–46, pls. XXIII–XXXV; Luxor Museum of Ancient Art (1979) 62–63, 82–84, 94–95, 138, 140–41, and 145.

87. Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 79–82; Clarke (1922) 16–40. A columned forecourt and gate were added at a later time.

88. Commission des Monuments d'Égypte (1809a) pls. 34–38.

flight of stairs. A square-pillared peristyle surrounded the bark chapel and back sanctuary, while two papyrus-bundle columns framed the entryway and back area. Iconographic details of the carving, as captured by Napoleon's artists, indicate a late date for the monument (discussed later in this chapter).<sup>89</sup>

Amenhotep constructed several temples in Nubia; a peristyle bark sanctuary at Quban (ancient Baki);<sup>90</sup> a rock-cut sanctuary to a falcon god (changed during his reign to Amon) at el-Sebua, noteworthy for its two-phase painted plaster decoration;<sup>91</sup> and possibly part of the Horus temple at Aniba.<sup>92</sup> He also added reliefs to earlier temples, such as the temple of Thutmose III on the island of Sai.<sup>93</sup>

Amenhotep's greatest construction work in Nubia was his multiphase temple at the Fortress of *Khaemmaat* (modern Soleb), south of the Third Cataract, complemented by a temple to Queen Tiye at nearby Sedeinga.<sup>94</sup> Built on the west bank, facing east, the temple was founded as a small peripteral bark sanctuary (with niched enclosure walls and a supporting town) dedicated to the worship of Amon, lord of Nubia. Later, the bark sanctuary was enclosed within a larger temple proper and portico; the enclosure wall was replaced within a larger, buttressed wall; and *two* solar courts were added to the fore area, fronted by a great entrance pylon and small colonnade hall. Finally the whole complex, with its enclosure wall, was enclosed within a second, even larger buttressed wall with its own pylon.<sup>95</sup> Very little survives today, since the temple was a convenient quarry for later building projects of the Napatan kings.

The complex was filled with sculpture, particularly of the king in animal form. As many as twenty granite recumbent rams led the approach to the temple, and statues of serpents, vultures, and falcons in granodiorite graced

89. Contra Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 75; Kozloff and Bryan date the monument to early in Amenhotep's reign.

90. Firth (1927) 238, plan VI; Badawy (1968) 289–90, fig. 161, 4.

91. Firth (1927) 235–37, illustrated with color plates and a transparency showing the painted revisions, pls. 31–34. For an excellent color detail of the painting in the back sanctuary, see Aldred (1968) pl. VII (opposite p. 53).

92. Porter and Moss (1951) 63–64.

93. Vercoutter (1973) 23, pl. VIII. The fragmentary relief on pl. I, S. 631, is probably of queen Tiye.

94. Porter and Moss (1951) 168–74 and 166–67, respectively. For an excellent photograph of the Sedeinga temple with its one standing Hathor column, see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 110.

95. For a record of the ongoing excavations of Soleb temple, see Schiff Giorgini's series of preliminary reports in *Kush* 6 (1958), 7 (1959), 9 (1961), 10 (1962), and 12 (1964). The material is currently being prepared for publication by Dr. N. Beaux for the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.



its interiors. Many pieces were later taken away to embellish other monuments, such as the Amon temple at Gebel Barkal<sup>96</sup> to the south, where fragments and whole statues have been recovered, including the famous Soleb lions in red granite, now part of the collection of the British Museum, and the granite recumbent rams in Berlin and Turin.<sup>97</sup>

The easternmost sun court was decorated with small, extremely detailed (and dated) representations of the king's first jubilee, while the pylon was decorated by Amenhotep IV with coronation and offering scenes, including several of him worshipping his deified father. It is not known whether Amenhotep III was worshiped as "Nebmaatra, lord of Nubia" as early as the monument's founding or if this was initiated later, but his cult is very much in evidence by the time the solar courts were added, where portal reliefs depict him worshipping figures of himself crowned with a moon crescent and solar disk, a ram's horn curling around his ear.<sup>98</sup> In this guise the deified Amenhotep was a fusion of the sun god and the lunar crescent/eye of Horus, both of which every year retreated to the south and had to be pursued and pacified so that they would return.<sup>99</sup> Soleb was linked by a raised earthen causeway to Amenhotep IV's temple at Sesebi, forty kilometers to the south.

#### The Stylistic Evolution of Amenhotep III's Relief Work and Sculpture

Examples of the relief decoration of Amenhotep III from his Egyptian monuments display a bewildering multiplicity of styles, as does much of his sculpture. One might suspect that this is due to trademark styles of regional workshops and art schools throughout the land, and this may account for some of the variation. But when this author noted striking stylistic and iconographic differences in the carved decoration of Amenhotep's three consecutive building phases in Luxor temple, surely produced by the same workshop over a number of years, another possibility presented itself: stylistic evolution over time.

Because of its long building history and relatively good state of preservation, Amenhotep III's Luxor temple provides a "model" with which to compare his other monuments.<sup>100</sup> If stylistic variation is at least partly due to changes in style over a period of time, one would expect the changes evident in Luxor temple to be reflected elsewhere.

96. Dunham (1970) 17, 19, 25, 27, 28, and pls. V, VI, XXV, and XXVI.

97. Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 219–20 and 221–22, respectively. For a study of the animal sculptures, see Morkot (n.d.).

98. For the curling ram horn as symbol of divinity, see Bell (1985a) 269.

99. For the theology of Soleb, see Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 106–10.

100. For the preliminary results of this line of thought, see Johnson (1990) 26–31.

Subsequent comparison of the Luxor temple decorative phases with other multiphase monuments of Amenhotep III in Thebes and elsewhere did indeed reveal a similar, consecutive stylistic breakdown of decoration, with the addition of one earlier phase.<sup>101</sup> Using the consecutive styles of Amenhotep's Luxor temple as a guide, the following four-phase chronological framework for Amenhotep III's monument decoration throughout Egypt can now be proposed, roughly corresponding to the four decades of his reign:

1. An early, first-decade style continuing the carving tradition of Thutmose IV, characterized by low, flat relief work with squared-off edges, proportionally similar to the earlier king
2. A second-decade "classic" Amenhotep III style, still conservative, but more polished, characterized by a longer leg in human figures; a moderately high raised relief, well rounded but with low sharp edges
3. A third-decade style<sup>102</sup> characterized by a more naturalistic rendering of the human form, including a larger, more detailed ear
4. After year 30, a dramatically exaggerated, very highly raised or deeply cut relief style, emphasizing youthfulness<sup>103</sup> and solar/funerary iconography

The first-decade style is not found in Luxor temple, since it predates Amenhotep's rebuilding of that monument. Belonging to this category is the relief from the Tura limestone quarries dated to Amenhotep's year 2, in sunk relief, presently in the Toledo Museum of Art (25.522; figs. 3.1 and 3.15);<sup>104</sup> a sunk-relief sandstone lintel and limestone doorjamb group of Amenhotep III from the Thutmose IV court, found reused as fill in Amenhotep's own Third Pylon at Karnak (figs. 3.16 and 3.17);<sup>105</sup> a raised-relief scene from the first-phase temple proper of Amenhotep's three-phase Montu temple at Karnak, depicting the king before Amon-Ra-Kamutef (fig. 3.18);<sup>106</sup> a raised-relief face of Maat in this style, possibly later, from the Montu complex,

101. The chronological framework based solely on the three Luxor temple phases utilized in "Images of Amenhotep" has been rejected by this author as inadequate, hence I have added an earlier phase in the present study. (All blocks referred to in the following discussion are sandstone unless otherwise indicated.)

102. This style is found during the years just *before* Amenhotep III's first jubilee, not after, contra Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 98 n. 76.

103. The king's face is dominated by an immense oversize eye balanced by enlarged lips and a smaller ear and nose. The intended effect is one of exaggerated youthfulness, a major motif of the new style.

104. See n. 4 in this chapter. The figure of Amenhotep in the Tura relief is proportionally related to figures of his father, Thutmose IV; see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 80–81.

105. Muhammad (1966) 146, pls. I and II.

106. Varille (1943) pl. XIV.



perhaps from the Maat temple;<sup>107</sup> and a block from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III reused in the bark shrine of Khonsu temple at Karnak in raised relief.<sup>108</sup>

The second-decade style is a more polished continuation of the first, with differences in the proportions of Amenhotep's body already noticeable. It predominates in the temple proper of Amenhotep's Luxor temple (figs. 3.19 and 3.20) and in the small desert temple to Nekhbet at El-Kab. Betsy Bryan has done extensive analysis of the proportions of the human figures found in Amenhotep's monuments, and she comments that although closely related to the Thutmoside type, Amenhotep's body at el-Kab is already proportionally different from the year 2 relief from Tura. His leg is longer, and the top of the thigh is higher, reflecting a change that grew more pronounced as his reign wore on. The legs of figures in Amenhotep's Luxor temple proper are slightly longer than those at el-Kab, making the Luxor reliefs probably a little later than those at el-Kab.<sup>109</sup>

The third-decade style is typified by reliefs from the solar court of Amenhotep's Luxor temple.<sup>110</sup> In these reliefs, traditionally "hieroglyphic" outlined facial elements are rendered with a new naturalism very unlike the style of similar elements in the reliefs in the temple proper. Amenhotep's ear is now realistically heavy-lobed and pierced (fig. 3.21), his mouth is no longer outlined, and his chin is heavy and mature. A *khepresh*-crowned figure of Amenhotep III from the Luxor temple's solar court had a sfumato, or "shadow," eye, which was painted but not carved (fig. 3.22). That other fragments from the court, depicting other faces of this king, show him wearing different crowns and preserve carved eyes suggests that Amenhotep's shadow eye was associated with only the *khepresh*-crown. Included in this third-decade style category is a sunk-relief lintel fragment in sandstone from the Maat temple, featuring Amenhotep offering to and embraced by Maat;<sup>111</sup> a block recently identified as part of the decorated tomb chapel of the first Apis bull burial at Saqqara, featuring a detail of Amenhotep's eldest son and

107. Ibid., pl. LXIV D.

108. Johnson (1990) 33.

109. Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 79–82, 87–88.

110. The Luxor Temple Fragment Project of the Epigraphic Survey, under the direction of this author, has reassembled several hundred decorated fragments from the east wall of Amenhotep's solar court, preparatory to the publication of the entire court; see Johnson (1990) 26–29, drawing 2; *The Oriental Institute Annual Report*, 1980 to the present; and *Dossiers: Histoire et archéologie* 101 (January 1986) 50–52, 95.

111. Varille (1943) pl. LXIII.

heir, Prince Thutmose, in light sunk relief;<sup>112</sup> raised-relief sandstone blocks reused in Khonsu temple from the solar court of Amenhotep's mortuary temple, which preserve small-scale Sed Festival representations;<sup>113</sup> additional fragments of this relief excavated by the Swiss Institute in the area of the mortuary temple's court itself;<sup>114</sup> limestone doorjamb blocks decorated in shallow raised and sunk relief from Amenhotep's Ptah-Sokar-Osiris temple gateway, found reused in the mortuary temple of Merenptah;<sup>115</sup> and the raised jubilee and doorjamb reliefs preserved in the easternmost solar court in Amenhotep III's Soleb temple in Nubia.<sup>116</sup> The conventional yet relaxed style of Amenhotep's jubilee reliefs, both here and in his mortuary temple's solar court, suggest that they were carved in the latter years of his third decade, just before the actual celebration of his first jubilee in year 30, in ritual anticipation of the event.

Amenhotep III's last building program at Luxor temple was the addition of the Colonnade Hall, finished and decorated during the reigns of Tutankhamun and Ay. Evidence on the facade of the Colonnade Hall indicates that Amenhotep III started the decoration of at least one doorjamb scene, on the west side of the great facade portal. The entire facade was carved in raised relief during the reign of Ay, and as with the inner doorjambs and fourteen columns, these facade doorjambs depict figures of the reigning king, in this case Ay, alternating with honorific figures of Amenhotep III.

The west doorjamb scene preserves a figure of Amenhotep III, on the right, facing a destroyed figure of Amon, on the left, accompanied by a lion-headed goddess (fig. 3.23). The style of the carving, a flat raised relief, is consistent with what is found on the eastern jambs, and it dates to the time of Ay. But the figure of Amenhotep wears an unusual and noteworthy costume, not at all typical for the time of Ay. A pendant cobra rears up from the end of Amenhotep's *nemes*-lappet—a detail generally found in royal tombs—and a looped sash and hanging cords tipped with sedge-plant blossoms hang from the king's generous belt.

Because the Amon figure has the appearance of having been hacked in an Amarna fashion sometime after it was carved, and because in its present state there are no signs of the smoothing and recarving one would expect to find from the restoration period afterward, the Amon figure must have been

112. Dodson (1991) 27. For an excellent photograph of Munich Gl.93, see Schoske (1990) 59 (4).

113. See Borchardt (1926) 37–51.

114. Haeny (1981) pls. 24–25, 38–42.

115. Porter and Moss (1972) 447–48. See also n. 57 in this chapter.

116. Porter and Moss (1951) 169–72.



attacked at the painting stage, restored, and then carved. This is supported by the fact that the hacking marks are contained within the carved outline of Amon's body, except in one spot: the carved hand of Amon grasping the *was*-scepter appears under a hacked silhouette of the same.

Amenhotep III's workmen must have begun the decoration of this door-jamb in paint shortly before he died. The painted scene, meant to be carved later, depicted Amenhotep III dedicating the hall to Amon, but the unfinished cartoon figure of Amon was hacked by the Atenists, as were all the other figures of Amon in the temple. Later, probably during Tutankhamun's reign, the hacked Amon figure was filled with plaster, and his figure was repainted, with his hand in a slightly different position. When the entire facade was finished during the reign of Ay, the Amon figure, as well as the Amenhotep III figure, with its outdated costume, were finally carved. The plaster concealing the damage to the Amon figure eventually fell away, revealing both the earlier and the later versions.<sup>117</sup>

Represented by the posthumously carved figure of the king in this scene, Amenhotep's final style of Luxor temple decoration is characterized primarily by a new elaboration of costume, specifically the large looped sash at the belt line, cobras crowned with sun disks, and pendant cords tipped with sedge-plant blossoms on either side of his sporran. These details link the Luxor figure to similarly decorated, fragmentary monuments throughout Thebes and elsewhere, and they date the entire style to Amenhotep's last decade.

Amenhotep's fourth-decade relief work as a group is noteworthy for a significant change in depth of cut; raised relief is carved considerably higher than ever before, and sunk relief is carved extremely deep into the stone.<sup>118</sup> The innovative carving was accompanied by solar and funerary iconography in Amenhotep's costume, never utilized in his earlier monument decoration. The iconography includes pendant cords tipped with sedge-plant blossoms and papyrus umbels, gold-disk *shebyu*-collars, associated armbands and bracelets, floral *wah*-collars, falcon-tail sporrans, sporran sashes, and cobras crowned with sun disks. Amenhotep's face is now more youthful looking, with an exaggerated, overlarge eye that dominates the face. His body is often bent forward slightly at the waist. His legs are longer, at the expense of his midsection, which is shorter and thicker, and his belt is three times its normal width at the back.

117. Johnson (1990) 29–32, drawing 3.

118. Amenhotep's Colonnade Hall would undoubtedly have been carved in this high relief had he lived to see its completion.

This new iconography and style can be found in a deeply cut sunk relief on the east face of his Karnak Third Pylon, depicting Amenhotep in a great river procession (figs. 3.24 and 3.25);<sup>119</sup> offering scenes he added to the west face of the Fifth Pylon in high raised relief (fig. 3.26);<sup>120</sup> blocks from the stone portals of a dismantled storehouse of Amon at Karnak in high raised relief, found reused in the Second Pylon at Karnak (figs. 3.27 and 3.28);<sup>121</sup> fragmentary reliefs from the facade of his mortuary temple's solar court in West Thebes, in very high raised relief;<sup>122</sup> a raised-relief limestone stela from the mortuary temple complex (fig. 3.29);<sup>123</sup> and a quartzite block found in the mortuary chapel of Prince Wadjmose, in deeply sunk relief (figs. 3.30 and 3.31).<sup>124</sup> Additional examples of this carving style have also been found in Heliopolis, in sunk relief;<sup>125</sup> at Hebenu, in raised and sunk relief (fig. 3.32), possibly including the Cleveland Museum limestone nome-god blocks;<sup>126</sup> in Hermopolis, in raised and deeply sunk relief;<sup>127</sup> and in Aswan. Until its destruction in 1822, Amenhotep III's bark sanctuary to Khnum<sup>128</sup> was the only intact monument decorated in this style.<sup>129</sup>

The painted figures found on the walls of Amenhotep's royal tomb display stylistic characteristics that date them late in his reign as well (fig. 3.33). The unexpectedly plump figures of the king, with their thick waists and youthful faces, are graced with wide belts, sporrans, and kilts covered with elaborate falcon-feather patterns.<sup>130</sup>

119. Porter and Moss (1972) 60–61. The east face is the back side of the pylon and was carved last. The front was decorated in the shallower sunk relief of Amenhotep's third decade.

120. Ibid., 85. Six blocks, unpublished to this author's knowledge (one in the Karnak Open-Air Museum, four in the north blockyard), join the southern jamb to complete the body of the king up to the chin; the northern jamb preserves the lower legs, kilt, and sporran of the king in situ; my thanks to Otto Schaden for this reference.

121. See n. 39 in this chapter.

122. Haeny (1981) pls. 24b–d.

123. Cairo Museum CG 34026; Petrie (1897) pl. 11.

124. Cairo Museum JEt. 34558; Grébaut (1890) 8–9, pl. VII; Porter and Moss (1972) 446. Probably from a stela; my thanks to May Trad for that observation.

125. Moursi and Balbousch (1975), 85–91, figs. 1–3, pls. 29b–d and 30a.

126. Kessler (1981) pl. IV 3; CM 61.205 and 76.51; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 118–20; Kozloff (1979b) 338–42, fig. 13.

127. Roeder (1959) pls. 61a and b; idem (1969) pl. 168, 670–V. For an alabaster bark pedestal, see Spencer, Bailey, and Burnett (1983) 5–7, pl. 2, figs. 20–23.

128. Commission des Monuments d'Égypte (1809a) pls. 34–38.

129. The changes in style and iconography also occur in royal sculpture in the round from Amenhotep III's last decade. Stylistically-related small steatite statues of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye were dedicated to the king's cult image in his mortuary temple, perhaps distributed much in the manner of the earlier steatite proclamation scarabs. See Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 198–203; an example in the Cairo Museum, CG 42084; Schäfer (1934) 6, fig. 8.

130. See Piankoff and Hornung (1961) 111–27, pls. XXII–XXVIII.



## Iconography and Theology

After reviewing the exceptional material from late in Amenhotep's reign, several questions immediately arise. Why did the style and iconography appear at all? Why did it make its appearance only during Amenhotep III's last decade? And where did it come from?

The source of Amenhotep's new iconography is easily identified. In private tombs from the time of Amenhotep II on, the king is often depicted enshrined, wearing these solar accoutrements, referred to as the god Ra,<sup>131</sup> and accompanied by the goddess Hathor.<sup>132</sup> Because the ancient Egyptians made a distinction between the cyclic time of the seasons (*neheh*) and the eternal time of the afterlife (*djet*),<sup>133</sup> it should be borne in mind that the king in these tomb scenes is shown in eternal time, after his eventual death. The *shebyu*-collar, which represented an elevation in status when presented to a private person by the king,<sup>134</sup> here reflected the change in the king's state of being after he entered *djet* time, the result of his assimilation and identification with his father the sun disk. The *wah*-collar, associated with Osiris, underscored the funerary nature of the scene.<sup>135</sup>

One of the relief scenes in the tomb of Kheruef at Thebes (TT 192) clarifies the significance of these collars on figures of the living Amenhotep III from his last decade. In an unusual exception to the timeless scenes commonly found in tombs,<sup>136</sup> some of the reliefs in Kheruef's tomb document real events that actually transpired during Amenhotep III's first and third jubilees and that are firmly dated to Amenhotep's thirtieth and thirty-seventh regnal years, respectively, in the accompanying inscriptions. Reliefs of a ceremony dated to the celebration of his first jubilee in year 30 feature Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye being towed by members of the court in the evening and morning barks of Ra.

(The members of the court) were directed to the lake of His Majesty to row in the bark of the king. They grasped the towropes of the evening bark and the prow rope of the morning bark, and they towed the barks

131. The king is addressed as Ra; see Hornung (1982) 139.

132. See Radwan (1969); Wente (1969) 83–91.

133. See Hornung's discussion of these two states of time in Hornung (1992) 64–71.

134. Eaton-Krauss (1982) 238–39, cat. no. 316.

135. See Bell (1988) 133–34, cat. no. 68, and 139, cat. no. 77. The king is not literally dead in these ritual scenes (contra Kozloff in Kozloff and Bryan [1992] 439 n. 17, who misunderstood this author's point) but *potentially* dead and is depicted in these scenes ritually projected into the timeless state of eternity.

136. Unusual except for the Amarna period; for the emphasis on historic actuality in Amarna art, see Groenewegen-Frankfort (1951) 96–110.

at the great place. They stopped at the steps of the throne. It was His Majesty who did this in accordance with writings of old. (Past) generations [of] people since the time of ancestors had never celebrated (such) rites of the jubilee.<sup>137</sup>

In Pyramid Text 222 this rite describes the union of the deceased king and the sun god, but only after death.

Ascend and descend; descend with Re', sinking into darkness with Ndi.  
Ascend and descend; ascend with Re', rise with the Great Float-user.  
Ascend and descend; descend with Nephthys, sink into darkness with the Night-bark.

Ascend and descend; ascend with Isis, rise up with the Day-bark.

Come into being, go up on high, and it will be well with you, it will be pleasant for you in the embrace of your father, in the embrace of Atum.

O Atum, raise this king up to you, enclose him within your embrace, for he is your son of your body forever.<sup>138</sup>

In Kheruef's scenes of the first jubilee, neither Amenhotep III nor Tiye wear *shebyu*-collars, but in the third-jubilee reliefs,<sup>139</sup> they both wear them (there are no reliefs documenting the second jubilee). The donning of the *shebyu*-collars only occurs after the first jubilee rites, associating that act with the completion of those rites.

The Kheruef reliefs, plus the appearance of the *shebyu*- and *wah*-collars around the king's neck in his own fourth-decade monument decoration, represent an official statement that Amenhotep III had united with the sun god while still alive, as a consequence of his first jubilee rites in year 30.<sup>140</sup> It is now possible to say that this theological event was the underlying principle behind Amenhotep III's deification while alive.<sup>141</sup> Additional criteria indi-

137. From Epigraphic Survey (1980) 43, pl. 24. This ritual undoubtedly took place on the Birket Habu and its eastern mate across the river.

138. From Faulkner (1969) 50–51.

139. Epigraphic Survey (1980) 54–58, pls. 47–51.

140. Wente and Van Siclen (1976) 221. Kozloff's suggestion that Amenhotep III might have donned the *shebyu*-collar simply because it was the court fashion unnecessarily trivializes the whole issue; see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 439. The presence of these collars in New Kingdom temple iconography before, during, and after this period indicates that they had a specific, theological significance, utilized at this time for equally specific, theological reasons.

141. For the problem of Amenhotep's deification, see Aldred (1988) 151–52; Habachi (1969) 48–50.



cate that from year 30 until the end of his life, the deified Amenhotep III was considered to be a living manifestation of *all* deity, with an emphasis on the sun god Ra-Horakhty.<sup>142</sup>

A significant new rebus writing of his praenomen appears after Amenhotep's first jubilee.<sup>143</sup> There the king himself stands for *neb*, the feather in his hand stands for *maat*, and the disk on his head (and the rebus as a whole) spells out *Ra* (fig. 3.34).<sup>144</sup> A variant of the rebus name occurs on wine-jar stoppers at Malqata and Amarna, where the rebus figure of the king is enclosed within a large sun disk in a solar bark sailing on the hieroglyph *pet* (heaven), beneath it the hieroglyph *tjehen* (dazzling). The whole group spells out "Neb-maat-ra is the Dazzling Aten" (fig. 3.35).<sup>145</sup> A shorter form of this epithet is found on public and private monuments throughout the latter part of Amenhotep's reign.<sup>146</sup>

142. In his study on the deification and worship of Ramses II, Labib Habachi observed that Ramses II was in large part emulating the deification program of his predecessor Amenhotep III. Both kings were worshiped as statues with the same names, the most famous statues being *Ra of the Rulers* and *Ruler of the Rulers*, and both were worshiped as numerous deities (for Amenhotep III's identification with Ptah, see Morkot [1990] 325 ff.; with Osiris, see Radwan [1973] 71–76; and as other deities, see Radwan [1975] 99–108). Habachi noted that depictions of the deified Ramses II, sometimes hawk-headed, sometimes crowned with a solar disk, rarely occur during Ramses' first few decades, and that "the idea of deification was not finally given whole-hearted expression until later in the reign, perhaps on the occasion of one of the king's jubilees"; see Habachi (1969) 8. The present author suggests that, like his predecessor Amenhotep III, Ramses II experienced official deification at the time of his first *Heb Sed*.

143. Without cartouches, in the manner of a deity; see Bell (1985b) 42 n. 6.

144. This rebus appears on seal documents, stamped bricks, and wine-jar labels dating to Amenhotep's three *Sed* Festivals in years 30, 34, and 37 from his *Heb Sed* palace in west Thebes, present-day Malqata; see Hayes (1951) 157 ff. It also appears on private and royal monuments from Memphis to Aswan, such as the famous biographical inscription found on the block statue of Amenhotep III's chief steward of Memphis, Amenhotep (Petrie [1913] 32–36, pls. 78–80), and a rock inscription at Aswan mentioning the statue *Neb-maat-Ra is Ra of the Rulers* (Varille [1933] 94). A gold ring found by Petrie at Amarna and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (no. 26.7.767) is inscribed with a variation of the rebus facing a figure of the deified Queen Tiye (Petrie [1894] pl. 14 [31]). In all cases the rebus is found alongside other objects displaying the normal spelling of the king's praenomen. It is also found in three-dimensional form. A statue of Kheruef formerly in the Berlin Museum (no. 2293) but destroyed during World War II represented the official offering a figure of Amenhotep III as the sun god, crowned with the sun disk, holding the *maat* feather, and seated next to a figure of Thoth as a squatting baboon crowned with the lunar disk; see Epigraphic Survey (1980) 20 n. 16.

145. Hayes (1951) fig. 25 (E, F); Petrie (1894) pl. 21 (22, 57); Peet and Woolley (1923) pl. 55 (K, L); Frankfort and Pendlebury (1933) pl. 57 (F); Pendlebury (1951) 164 (16).

146. The epithet "the Dazzling Sun Disk (Aten)" is first encountered in the "lake scarab" inscription dated to Amenhotep's year 11, as the name of the royal barge. "Neb-maat-Ra is the Dazzling Aten" is also found on the front architrave on the west side of his late second-decade Luxor temple proper; see Gayet (1894) 15. In the tomb of Nefersekheru (TT 107), the chief steward of Amenhotep's palace at Malqata, the palace is referred to as "the Palace of the

The forms and time frame of Amenhotep's building program suggest that the occasion of his deification was planned long in advance of the actual event. During the decade leading up to his first jubilee, solar courts were added to almost every temple he had constructed: Soleb temple, Luxor temple, (possibly) Mut temple, Montu temple, his mortuary temple, even the temple of Osiris at Abydos, and undoubtedly others. All of the solar courts, including the two containing small-scale jubilee scenes from Soleb and the mortuary temple, were carved exclusively in Amenhotep's third-decade, pre-*Heb Sed* style and were constructed in anticipation of both the jubilee and his deification. At the same time and for the same purpose, huge amounts of sculpture were commissioned: statues of the king and his family; multiple images of all the gods in the likeness of the king for the jubilee courts; hundreds of Sekhmet statues, signifying his pacification of the forces of nature; guardian sphinxes, rams, and jackals; and enormous colossi of the king in various divine forms<sup>147</sup>—all had to be prepared *before* Amenhotep's thirtieth regnal year. The quarrying and construction activities during Amenhotep III's third decade must have had little precedent in Egyptian history, if any. It is certain that Amenhotep's jubilee preparations resulted in the creation of whole armies of artisans and craftsmen across the land, trained in all aspects of monument construction.

Amenhotep III reigned at least eight more years, and his final decade is still fraught with questions. Changes in the style and iconography of his monument decoration and statuary, combined with new epithets in his titulary and the appearance of a rebus form of his name, speak eloquently of Amen-

Dazzling Aten"; see Hayes (1951) 178–79. Amenhotep is referred to by that name in numerous stela belonging to other members of the palace staff found at Thebes and Abydos (Hayes [1951] 179) and also in the texts of canopic jars belonging to some of his minor wives (Legrain [1903] 145). The epithet was most recently documented on a life-size quartzite statue of the deified Amenhotep III discovered by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization in the Luxor temple statue cachette. With overlarge eyes and youthful features, the king wears the double crown, sports an elaborate pleated kilt festooned with disk-crowned cobras in the style of his last decade, and stands on a sledge against a back support in the shape of a round-topped stela. In the inscription on the back, one of the king's first epithets reads: "Dazzling Aten of all lands, whose uraeus illuminates the two banks." This statue was undoubtedly the focus of the cult of the deified Amenhotep III in Luxor temple; see el-Saghir (1991b) 21–27, figs. 45–59. This sculpture was undoubtedly produced in the same workshop as the Montu temple quartzite statues and at the same time.

147. A particularly thought-provoking colossal (two-meter) quartzite statue recently dated to Amenhotep III's reign and presently in the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* in Brussels (E. 5188) should be included here. It portrays the seated anthropomorphic king with the head, folded wings, and tail of a falcon; see Van Rinsveld (1991). Sincerest thanks to B. Van Rinsveld for bringing the piece to this author's attention. For additional references to hawk-headed depictions of Amenhotep III, see Radwan (1975) 99–108.



hotep's assimilation with the sun god as a result of his jubilee rites. From his year 30 to his death, Amenhotep ruled as a living manifestation of the sun god and all of Egypt's gods, including Ptah and even Osiris<sup>148</sup>—in the manner of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep before him<sup>149</sup> and of Ramses II after. He was referred to as “the Dazzling Aten,”<sup>150</sup> and when he was in residence in Thebes, he lived in a palace on the west bank, the traditional land of the dead, whose precinct abutted that of his great mortuary temple. Queen Tiye, who is shown participating in the deification rites of her husband in the Kheruef scene, shared his divinity as well.<sup>151</sup> While Amenhotep was worshiped as the sun, the moon, and the lord of Nubia in his temple at Soleb, she was worshiped as the sun god's consort, Hathor, in her own temple at Sedeinga and was considered to be a manifestation of all goddesses. For the rest of her life she is generally depicted wearing the modified wig of a goddess, even at Amarna.<sup>152</sup>

The living Amenhotep III's deification and assimilation with Egypt's gods and the emphasis on his identification with the sun god Ra-Horakhty must have been a major influence on his son Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten.<sup>153</sup> One might reasonably ask where Akhenaten was during this last momentous decade of his father's reign. Amenhotep III was officially considered to be the living sun god, and Queen Tiye had taken the role of the sun god's consort, Hathor; might not the son of the sun god also have a role to play in this monumental mystery play?

When he had gigantic figures of himself carved in smiting pose on his father's Third Pylon porch at Karnak, and when he decorated Amenhotep III's pylon at Soleb, depicting himself worshiping his deified father,<sup>154</sup> was Akhenaten simply acting out of filial piety after Amenhotep III's death, or was he acting as a full partner in his living father's deification program? Far from being an invisible presence on the sidelines of his father's festivities,

148. His mortuary temple was fully operational and functioning during this time. See Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 136, 201; on pp. 198–203, Kozloff and Bryan illustrate and discuss a series of statuettes commemorating the “living image” of Amenhotep III worshiped in his mortuary temple.

149. Habachi (1963) 16–52, figs. 1–23, pls. IV–XIV.

150. Hayes (1951) 178–79.

151. She is the first queen ever to be depicted wearing the *shebyu*-collar, in the same tomb; see Epigraphic Survey (1980) pls. 47–49.

152. For the famous relief of Queen Tiye from the gilded shrine found in KV 55 and related sculpture, see Davis et al. (1910) pls. XXIX and XXXII–XXXV.

153. From this point on, Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten will be referred to as Akhenaten for simplicity's sake, even when discussing monuments constructed by this king before he changed his name.

154. Breasted (1908) 88.

Akhenaten may have had an important role to play as well, that of the son of the sun god, Onouris-Shu. In light of the recognition of Amenhotep III's deification and subsequent identification with the sun god, this author asks that serious consideration be given to two propositions: that Akhenaten's famous sun cult might have actually been an extraordinary part of his father's deification program, and that the deified Amenhotep III and Akhenaten's new sun god, the Living Aten, were one and the same god.<sup>155</sup>

Akhenaten's earliest monument at Karnak was not dedicated to Amon but was a traditionally carved shrine to the hawk-headed sun god, Ra-Horakhty, uncharacteristically favored with an extended name: “who rejoices on the horizon in his name, the Sunlight which is in the Sun-Disk (Aten).”<sup>156</sup> The raised-relief carving of this structure is stylistically so similar to Amenhotep III's third-decade pre-jubilee carving style that this writer believes they are contemporary. The head of an Akhenaten figure on Berlin block number 2072, with its shadow eye, thick neck, and *khepresh*-crown shape (fig. 3.36), is stylistically very close to one of the heads of Amenhotep III from his third-decade Luxor temple solar court (fig. 3.22).<sup>157</sup> Another block from the same monument to Ra-Horakhty depicts Akhenaten with a carved almond-shaped eye, thick neck, double chin, and turned-up nose—features that are more reminiscent of his father, Amenhotep III, than of himself (fig. 3.37).<sup>158</sup>

A coregency of the two kings<sup>159</sup> beginning a year or two before Amenhotep III's first jubilee in year 30 explains why Akhenaten is depicted on this monument with the features of the senior king instead of his own. The Ra-Horakhty temple would then have been constructed by Akhenaten in anticipation of Amenhotep III's assimilation with Ra-Horakhty a year or two later. Akhenaten's temple at Sesebi and decorated pylon in his father's temple at Soleb, where in both cases he is shown worshiping the deified Amenhotep III, would have been constructed for the same purpose, at the same time, and in the carving style of his father's contemporary monuments.<sup>160</sup>

Iconographic and theological criteria combined suggest that after Amenhotep III's first *Heb Sed*, the art style of both kings changed officially and

155. Whether the two kings ruled together or not, the influence of the older king's deification on the younger king's new cult is now unquestionable. Even if Akhenaten ascended the Horus throne only after his father's death, his Aten cult has to be seen as a continuation of theological events initiated by his father.

156. From Redford (1984) 62; Gunn (1923) 168–76.

157. Aldred (1973) 50–51, fig. 30; Johnson (1990) pl. 10, fig. 3.

158. Redford (1976) pl. 4 (Pillet 57).

159. For a review of the traditional pros and cons of this particular coregency issue, see Murnane (1977) 123–79, 231–33.

160. For an updated look at the traditional opposing view, see Romano (1990) 52–54.



simultaneously to reflect their changed theological status. The deified Amenhotep III's new role as the living manifestation of all deity, including the creator/sun god Atum-Ra, was expressed in a new art style that emphasized his idealized, divine nature. Akhenaten's role as the firstborn of the creator god Shu was expressed in a new art style that emphasized his physical characteristics as Shu and his inherent female twin, Tefnut, a role also shared by Nefertiti.<sup>161</sup> After Amenhotep III's first jubilee and by Akhenaten's year 3,<sup>162</sup> the living Ra-Horakhty's names were enclosed in the cartouches of a king, and the new god appeared with full royal titulary as the rayed disk with multiple hands, in every respect the senior coregent of Akhenaten.<sup>163</sup>

By Akhenaten's year 5,<sup>164</sup> he and the Aten celebrated a jubilee of their own, after (or during) which he changed his name from Amenhotep IV to Akhenaten and dedicated the site of the "Horizon of the Aten" (Akhetaten, modern Amarna) as the chief cult center of the Aten, *at the directive of the Aten himself*.<sup>165</sup> The late Cyril Aldred long argued the case for overlapping Sed Festivals of Amenhotep III and the Aten, pointing out that the subsequent changes in the names and epithets of the Aten must have corresponded to the three jubilees of the senior king. He suggested that the junior king was emulating his father by giving his god and himself jubilees at the same time Amenhotep III was celebrating them.<sup>166</sup>

161. Akhenaten's exaggerated female characteristics were theologically dictated (as were the youthful figures of his father) and would have had nothing to do with secular reality. As junior coregent, Akhenaten shared his father's divinity in the way of *Kamutef*, but he was also Shu, the firstborn of the creator god, whose separation from his father was the act of creation. Akhenaten created his deified father anew each day, first at the Karnak Aten complex, then later at Amarna, and it is likely that he was made coregent specifically for this essential cultic purpose. Nefertiti, as Akhenaten's symbolic twin sister Tefnut, shared in the deification as well. As the first offspring of the creator god (and the first male and female), they were the symbolic progenitors of all life; hence ritualized themes of family, parenthood, and familial love permeate the decoration at Amarna. For the role of Shu, see Velde (1984) 735. For the Shu/Akhenaten and Tefnut/Nefertiti connections, see Baines (1985a) 474–75.

162. Redford (1976) 55; Smith and Redford (1976) xiv.

163. Noted by Gunn (1923) 168–76.

164. Gohary (1976) 64.

165. "His Seat of the First Occasion (the place of Creation), which he had made for himself that he might rest in it"; Redford (1984) 139. Numerous objects inscribed for Amenhotep III have been found at Amarna; for one of the best-known monuments, the Amenhotep III/Tiyi house-shrine stela found in the private house of Panehsy, chief servitor of the Aten and second prophet of the king at Amarna, inscribed with the late form of the Aten's name found only after Akhenaten's year 9, see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 213–14, no. 29; Griffith (1926) 1–2, pl. 1. For the scene of Amenhotep III, Tiyi, and their youngest daughter Baketaten depicted together in the tomb of the steward of Queen Tiyi, Huya, see Davies (1905) pl. XVIII. For a summary of the best-known monuments inscribed for or referring to Amenhotep III at Amarna, see Giles (1972) 66–84. See now also Johnson (1996b) 65–82.

166. Aldred (1959b) 31–33.

This author suggests that the jubilees referred to in the epithets of the Aten *were* the jubilees of Amenhotep III. Taking this thought one step further, the Aten and Akhenaten's jubilee around Akhenaten's year 5 was very probably the official celebration of Amenhotep III's second jubilee beginning in his year 33,<sup>167</sup> in his role as the living Aten. There is no monumental attestation of Amenhotep III's second jubilee anywhere else in Egypt, unlike his first and third; the only reference to the event is found entirely on jar labels from the Amon temple of his Malkata palace.<sup>168</sup>

The static, relatively one-dimensional nature of the Amarna religion has recently been noted and discussed. Its "positive cosmology" excludes all divine conflict; the life-radiating Aten and his coregent son preside together over a totally secure world, needing only the sustenance of perpetual food offerings.<sup>169</sup> But its one-dimensional nature may be the result of viewing Amarna as a separate entity, outside of the context of Egypt's other cults. The fantastic state of the preserved remains at Amarna has perhaps led us to err in assuming that Akhenaten's cult eclipsed the other cults from the beginning. It is perhaps more likely that the Aten cult, until fairly late in Akhenaten's reign, was only one cult among many, an exclusively royal cult founded solely for the veneration and perpetuation of the deified king as the sun disk (the living embodiment of all ancestral kings) by the royal family and court. The Aten cult probably had little effect on the other cults<sup>170</sup> until after Amenhotep III's death around Akhenaten's year 11. Only after he assumed sole rule did Akhenaten initiate the proscription of Amon, an act that may have been precipitated by his father's death.<sup>171</sup> We may never know exactly what motivated Akhenaten to attack Amon in this way, but one thing is certain; it was an act that never would have been sanctioned by his father, the living embodiment of that god.<sup>172</sup>

The problems of the period are manifold and are not solved in one sitting; scholars will be debating these issues for many years to come, especially in

167. Van Siclen (1973) 294.

168. Hayes (1951) 84–85. This author questions Bryan's observation that references to the second and third jubilees were added to Amenhotep's reliefs on the east wall of the Luxor temple birth room during his reign. Those references appear to have been added during the restoration period following the Amarna iconoclasm; cf. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 83.

169. Assmann (1989) 66–68.

170. Outside of the share of provisions each temple was required to contribute to the Aten; see C. Traunecker (1984) 62–69.

171. One must imagine the *armies* of artists, laborers, farmers, and even military, i.e., the bulk of Egypt's able-bodied male population, turned against the very monuments they had helped erect and embellish. The iconoclasm was short-term but extremely intensive.

172. For a quartzite statue of Amenhotep III as the god Amun, see Brooklyn Museum (1983) cat. no. 37 (Brooklyn 76.39).



the light of new material that is surfacing every year. The major point this author wishes to make is this: to understand the Amarna episode, it is necessary to start with the reign of Amenhotep III. The changes of style and iconography in his official monument decoration reflect an increasing solarization of Egypt's cults linked to Amenhotep III's deification as the sun god. These theological and stylistic trends reach their culmination during Akhenaten's reign but did not originate with him. Whether the two kings ruled together or not, the reigns of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten remain inextricably linked.

#### Chapter 4

### The Decorative and Funerary Arts during the Reign of Amenhotep III

*Arielle P. Kozloff*

At Malqata, Amenhotep III, Queen Tiye, and their daughters inhabited luxurious quarters probably unequaled by those of any other royalty of their day. Gilded and inlaid furniture preserved in the tomb of Amenhotep III's in-laws, Yuya and Tuya, tantalize with reflections of what must have outfitted the king's own chambers.

Beds and chairs veneered with ebony and overlaid with gold were carved with figures of the god Bes or antelopes. One chair preserves in engraved gold leaf one of the few extant examples of a two-dimensional representation of the king's eldest daughter, Princess Sitamen, obviously a favorite of her grandparents as well as her father, who eventually made her one of his wives.<sup>1</sup>

In terms of textiles, only a few neatly folded piles of natural, gauzy linens remain from the excavated tombs of the reign. Patterned textile cushions and bolsters have not survived, but tomb paintings show them to have been gaudy. Large, painted, pottery wine jars, small, glazed ointment jars, and inlaid ivory kohl tubes stood, were carried, and were handed about. What a revelry of color and pattern these trappings must have made against walls and ceilings covered with bright, lively painted scenes of flying birds and gamboling calves!<sup>2</sup>

This chapter is based on the chapters written by this author for the exhibition catalog A.P. Kozloff and B.M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992). The section on funerary equipment is based on the chapter by L.M. Berman in the same catalog.

1. Cairo Museum no. CG 51113. See Quibell (1908).

2. Ceiling fragments with birds are now in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art (hereafter referred to as the Metropolitan Museum), nos. 12.180.257–58; wall fragments with bulls are now in Cairo, nos. JE 43209–10, and in the Metropolitan Museum, nos. 11.215.453–54. For a recent publication of fragments still in situ and reconstruction drawings, see Yoshimura (1991) 15–16.



Both the number and the variety of temple, palace, and domestic furnishings made during this reign are astounding. Amenhotep III's craftsmen created new forms, shapes, and designs in almost every medium, sometimes taking foreign designs for their inspiration, sometimes reviving ancient shapes. Some motifs appear to have been invented and then to have become classics that were revived and copied sporadically until the Ptolemaic period.

Elegant design and exquisite craftsmanship are the hallmarks of the reign. For example, glass kohl tubes are tall and lean, with pleasantly proportioned capitals, just like the columns in the sun courts of Amenhotep III's temples. Careful attention is paid to surface finish and details on objects of every size and material—the high sheen rubbed onto surfaces of hard stone sculptures and the even gloss of faience pieces, the countless tiny braids carved into women's elaborate coiffures on wooden statuettes, the pristine clarity of inscriptions on faience objects and the purity of their colors.<sup>3</sup>

Small objects made during Amenhotep III's reign are so beautiful that they have rarely been given credit for intellectual content, yet some are highly charged with religious symbolism. One particular group includes objects usually called cosmetic spoons that are extremely fragile and decorative. Spoon handles are sometimes in the form of charming nude swimming girls who hold spoon bowls in the form of waterfowl (fig. 4.1), or they can be in the shape of an ankh (the ancient Egyptian emblem of life), with intricately carved legs forming the handle and the loop forming the bowl, or elaborate bouquets, with the stems forming the handle and the blossoms hollowed out to form the bowls.<sup>4</sup>

Since one spoon was found containing ointment, presumably once perfumed, the spoons were for some time regarded as frivolous perfumed ointment spoons for the Eighteenth Dynasty equivalent of milady's boudoir.<sup>5</sup>

3. The material receives its modern name from its similarity to the European porcelain named for the site of a major workshop in Faenza, Italy. The term *glazed composition*, coming recently into use and intended to give Egyptian faience a more objective identity, is unwieldy. The glaze that covers the powdered quartz body of faience is quite similar to glass, both being alkaline calcium silicates. Even the ancient Egyptians seem to have made little differentiation between them, since the word *tjehenet*, "to dazzle," was used generically for both glass and faience, as noted by Cooney (n.d.) 211–15.

4. Such spoons were first brought back to Europe some 160 years ago. See, e.g., Vandier d'Abbadie (1972) no. 74 (N 1823). For spoons brought back in 1826 by Salt, see *ibid.*, no. 55 (N 1745); for those brought back in 1827 by Drovetti, see no. 92 (N 1732). Others were brought back in 1830 by Champollion.

5. Similarly, Hoffmann, studying Greek animal-headed drinking vessels (*rhyta*), wrote in 1989 that his verdict of thirty years ago that the animal shapes of *rhyta* were chosen purely for aesthetic reasons and held "no significance" reflected the neo-positivist standpoint then current in British and American archaeology, and it was symptomatic of the conservative spirit then

Few, if any, bear inscriptions dedicating them to a particular deity or ritual purpose; in a field of study built on deciphering texts, this along with their distracting beauty kept their true meaning from being understood. However, tomb and shrine scenes<sup>6</sup> and the iconography of the symbols carved on the spoons themselves suggest that these were actually ritual objects with deep religious significance that had gone nearly unrecognized until recent research began to reveal their richness.<sup>7</sup>

Most of the spoons have now been proven to relate to the sky goddesses, specifically to Nut and Hathor. An ivory spoon in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow,<sup>8</sup> is the most elegant example of a type whose handle is figured by the avatar of Nut, the nude outstretched young woman, holding in her arms a lotus, symbol of the sun. According to myth, Nut swallows the sun, allowing it to pass through her body, and gives it rebirth the next morning. Thus, the two elements of the spoon, the girl and the lotus, act as glyphs to evoke the myth. This was not mere fantasy, however. The story invoked by this alignment illustrates an astronomical phenomenon that occurred in the ancient Egyptian skies, the alignment of the path of the sun (the lotus) with the Milky Way (the sky goddess—here, Nut) at the spring and fall equinoxes.<sup>9</sup> The myth was actually ancient Egypt's explanation of this starry sensation.

Where the "swimming girl" Nut holds a duck before her,<sup>10</sup> the bird is undoubtedly the hieroglyph *s3*, meaning "son," her son, the sun. Where Nut holds a longer-necked goose, this is probably a reference to a royal funerary prayer in which the king is addressed by Nut as Osiris, son of the Sun, and son of Geb (symbolized by the goose) and is promised that Nut will lift him up so that he might see the living gods.<sup>11</sup> Some texts use the phrase "heir of Geb" for Osiris. Thus, the goddess could hold the *iaa*, or baby gazelle (*iaa* meaning heir).<sup>12</sup> The baby gazelle, while semantically correct, is the only one

prevailing in the academic establishment [that Hoffmann refused] to venture a hypothesis concerning the possible function and significance of the artifacts." His study quoted here corrected that misconception by showing a rich association of Greek and South Italian *rhyta* with Dionysiac and related ritual. See Hoffmann (1989) 131.

6. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 338–39.

7. For the history of the study of the spoons, including the methodology of the research that revealed their iconography, see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 331–59.

8. Moscow, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts no. I.1a 3627, L. 19.5 cm. See Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 346–47 and color plate 38 on p. 365.

9. See *Ibid.* 336–37.

10. See *Ibid.* 337, 347–48.

11. Piankoff (1955) 59 and quotations from 74 and 97, respectively.

12. Nut's relationship to the sun—represented both as mother (of Osiris and of Ra) and as grandmother (of Osiris's son Horus) is one of the many inconsistencies typical of Egyptian religion.



of Nut's spoon attributes not fitting the aquatic theme, and so it appears rarely on spoons, the alabaster example in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York being the most famous example.<sup>13</sup>

One by one the spoons revealed symbolism relating to Nut and even more to another sky goddess, Hathor,<sup>14</sup> who in bovine form was the subject of the Book of the Divine Cow, which describes her celestial position as spanning the entire sky.<sup>15</sup> Hathor and Nut coexisted quite easily as heavenly mother goddesses.<sup>16</sup> The multiplicity of sky goddesses, which included Isis and eventually Sekhmet, Mut, and others, undoubtedly grew out of diverse local origins during predynastic times. Yet instead of supplanting or contradicting each other, they enriched and complemented one another. Spoons with girls playing lutes or other instruments while standing on tiny boats in the marshes or tugging at reeds in the marshes, as well as spoons with other motifs, such as images of Bes or Asiatics, gazelles, or hounds leaping to catch shells in their jaws, were all eventually found to have connections to the sky goddesses and the myths and texts related to them.<sup>17</sup> Frequently the framework motif for these spoons is an ankh, seemingly a reaffirmation of the regenerative symbolism of the allusions related to mother goddesses.

The spoons may have had several consecutive uses before finally being offered to tomb or temple, in at least one instance filled with ointment. Perhaps they were used as ladles, perhaps as ritual emblems or scepters in processions.<sup>18</sup>

The traditional center for wood carving throughout Egyptian history, Memphis, was the home of the god Ptah, the patron of craftsmen. While there were many nomes with sacred groves of trees, Memphis undoubtedly was as close to being forested as any site along the Nile, not that all of the spoons had to have been made from native wood or even wood that may

have been transplanted from elsewhere and grown in Egypt. Undoubtedly some of the finer woods, like other raw materials, were imported from abroad—either from the east or from the south. Yet most of the spoons have been found in the north, and many of the motifs and scenes seem to be related to northern prototypes.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it seems most likely that these objects were made somewhere around Memphis.

Whatever their origin, the workshops that produced these intricate masterpieces were internationally famous in the fourteenth century B.C. An Amarna Letter lists among the hundreds of gifts sent from Amenhotep IV to the Babylonian king several objects that sound like or seem related to the utensils in this chapter, such as tinted ivory oil receptacles in the form of gazelles.<sup>20</sup> In another Amarna Letter Burnaburiash II wrote to Amenhotep IV asking essentially what had happened to his order for trees and various regional plants sculpted in ivory and colored.<sup>21</sup> This suggests that the Egyptian king not only sent foreign royalty gifts of his own choosing but also accepted commissions. Certainly a workshop already famous for such sculpted, colored items in the young king's reign could have produced Brooklyn's ivory spoon in the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>22</sup>

Another type of object mentioned in the Amarna Letters and related to the spoons by material, subject matter, and use are the little caryatid vessels, of which Durham University's girl carrying the krater is probably the most charming example.<sup>23</sup> Burnaburiash's letter actually describes a "cripple in stone with a jar in his hand," but the idea is the same. Both the style and the provenances of the Durham girl and another caryatid made by the same hand place them within the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>24</sup>

Although one spoon is inscribed for the king's mother, Mutemwia, none dedicated to Amenhotep III himself, his wives, or children is yet known.

13. Metropolitan Museum, Rogers Fund, no. 26.2.47. See Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 332, fig. XI.4.

14. Lobstein suggested that there must be a relationship between these spoons and Hathor; see Lobstein (1984) 235–37. She correctly identified the iconography of the cartouche in the arms of one version of the swimming-girl-type spoon, and our identification of this *nageuse* as Nut completes the proof.

15. See Daumas (1977) 1025 for her relationship to Nut and to other bovine goddesses. The oldest version of the Book of the Divine Cow exists on a shrine from Tutankhamen's tomb. See Piankoff (1955) 26–33.

16. Daumas (1977) 1029. Hathor also came to be identified with most of the major Egyptian goddesses. Bryan (1997) discusses the conception of several female divinities as sky goddesses and their relationship with the feathered dress worn by Tihi and rarely by Amenhotep III.

17. See Kozloff and Bryan (1992), esp. nos. 76–84, pp. 348–58.

18. See Ibid. 338–39.

19. See Ibid. 351–53.

20. Moran (1992) 34, Amarna Letter EA 14, sect. iv, line 15.

21. Ibid. 21–23, Amarna Letter EA 11, sect. v, lines 1–12.

22. Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Memorial Fund, no. 42.411, H. 20.8 cm. Reeves implied in his book on Tutankhamen that this and other ivory masterpieces must have come from that great royal find, since they had gone through Carter's and Carnarvon's hands; cf. Reeves (1990a) 48 (cornelian plaques), 158 (ivory objects). It is more likely, however, that the ivories, like the Metropolitan Museum's cornelian bracelet plaques, came from Amenhotep III's tomb by way of the Luxor antiquities trade in 1912 or were still there when Carter and Carnarvon cleared the tomb in 1915. This shape of sacred tree is well documented in art forms at Malqata, but the shape changed thereafter and was no longer in style in Tutankhamen's reign.

23. England, Durham University Oriental Museum no. N.752, H. 13.3 cm.

24. The other caryatid is actually a telamon—a male figure carrying a jar found in the tomb of Hatia, the findspot for the coffin of Henut-wedjebu discussed at the end of this chapter. For the telamon, see Saleh and Sourouzzian (1987) no. 158. See also Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 361.



Therefore, most are dated by style. Spoons and implements with female figures as part of their decoration are dated to the reign by the resemblance of their facial features, figural proportions, and hairstyles to securely dated relief sculpture and sculpture in the round. For example, most of the female faces bear the king's own slanted, almond-shaped eyes and tilted nose.

One class of small carved wood container sometimes dated to Amenhotep III—hemicylindrical, compartmented boxes with sliding lids—often includes in its decoration animal combat, a theme not popular in Amenhotep III works of art. Also, the excessive border ornament and figure style on many of these containers are more compatible with later Eighteenth Dynasty and Nineteenth Dynasty art.<sup>25</sup>

One class of objects made of bronze actually seems more appropriate to the discussion here than to a discussion of jewelry, even though the objects are counterweights for necklaces. These *menats*, as the counterweights are called, are more often shown carried by women in their hands in order to rattle the necklace beads for Hathor rather than actually worn around the neck as decoration. The *menats* were manufactured in bipart molds, some with the decoration in pressed relief, some in openwork. The top part of the best *menats* bears an image of Queen Tiye as Hathor, wearing the *modius*, horns, and disk. Some of Tiye's portraits show her in this guise, including the Boston portrait from Sedeinga (where Amenhotep III built a temple to Tiye as Hathor).<sup>26</sup> The circular part of the *menat* at the bottom often contains an image of Hathor standing in a boat in a marsh, just like the female musicians on the spoons.

The proliferation of exquisite small objects during the reign included those made in animal form. Many of them have been called knickknacks, but the ancient Egyptians did not embellish their homes with such items. Even the most lavish households, as far as one can tell from tomb paintings and from the types of furnishings that remain, seem to have been relatively clutter free. The types of furniture known from ancient Egypt are mostly chairs and

25. The hemicylindrical box may have predecessors in Amenhotep III's reign. The Brooklyn Museum's complete cylinder box with a hinged lid on the top and a scene of musicians performing for the deceased Ipuy (perhaps the same Ipuy who followed his father Amenhotep, Huy, as steward of Memphis and is named on Malqata jar labels) may be one of the foundation parents of the class. See Freed in Brovarski, Doll, and Freed (1982) 202–3, nos. 236 and 237, for commentary on this class of object; for the object itself (Boston Museum nos. 49.493a–b), see Smith (1952) 73–79. We do not know what use this type of box had; it may be what is described in the Amarna Letters as a little “manger” in wood, sometimes boxwood. See also Moran (1992) 57, Amarna Letter EA 22, sect. iv, line 34.

26. See Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 104–10 and no. 15, pp. 175–76.

beds as well as storage chests, while the relatively rare tables shown in tomb paintings hold food and flowers, not favorite works of art. Conversely, some of these same types of objects have been termed amulets—objects whose sole use was to bring good luck.

One object, in particular, is a perfect example. A privately owned Egyptian blue frog with three gold strips inlaid longitudinally into its back sits on a base squared in the front and rounded in the back. When analyzed, its composition was found to be crystalline, suggesting that it is made of Egyptian blue.<sup>27</sup> Like the dozens, perhaps hundreds, of tiny frogs in semiprecious stone and faience found at New Kingdom sites in Egypt, it was undoubtedly sacred to Heket, the goddess of childbirth, or to another female goddess.<sup>28</sup> Many of these small frogs have holes for stringing as amulets. This one does not, and though large enough to take on “statuette” status, it is not inscribed and shows no sign of having been inserted into another base that might have borne an inscription. Larger still is the 5.3-centimeter-tall cobalt blue frog with copper blue lines in its back, now in Brooklyn.<sup>29</sup>

It is possible that both the privately owned frog and the large one in Brooklyn functioned as weights, since during this reign weights were made in a variety of materials, including glass, Egyptian blue, and faience, and in a variety of shapes, including frogs. The former's weight is the equivalent of one and a half *kedets*. Cour-Marty has recorded the tremendous explosion of new types, materials, and subject matter for weights during the late Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>30</sup> The frog's symbolism—usually fertility—does not preclude a practical use, since most of the animal types now recorded as definitely being used as weights were identified with either a king or a deity. Alternatively, both frogs could have been royal votive gifts to one of the mother goddesses—perhaps placed in a household shrine—or tomb gifts designed to help their owners find rebirth.

Another, more peculiar type of object that often used animals as decoration has been called a “hair curler” because of its miniaturized resemblance (each is generally two to three inches in length) to the modern curling iron. However, the ancient objects lack the scissor movement of a curling iron. Instead, clamping one end of one of the ancient objects shut opens the

27. London, Natural History Museum, Department of Mineralogy.

28. A frog amulet in the Brooklyn Museum, no. 59.18, is inscribed to Mut; see Brovarski, Doll, and Freed (1982) 251–52.

29. Brooklyn Museum no. 58.28.8; Riefstahl (1968) 26, 97–98, pl. II, no. 25; Fazzini in Fazzini et al. (1989) no. 46.

30. Cour-Marty (1990) 17–55.



other.<sup>31</sup> This suggests that the objects were meant to pry something open. One conceivable use is in the delicate mummification procedures and ceremonies, such as the ritual opening of the mouth.

One of the finest known examples of this sort of implement belongs to the Petrie Museum, University College, London.<sup>32</sup> It is made of bronze, with gold and silver inlay. A bounding hound on one handle has pulled even with an antelope on the other. The hound turns its head with jaws open to snap at its victim. While animal combat seems not to have been a popular theme during the reign of Amenhotep III, the image of a hound or jackal attacking and grasping one item or another in its jaws, be it a fish or a shell, does occur in other media.<sup>33</sup> Like many of the small compound-image objects made during this reign, this sort of implement probably carries a hieroglyphic message—probably based on puns—in the symbols portrayed on the handles.

All of the little bronze objects of this type are made in the same fashion and style, suggesting that they flourished during a short period of time and then fell out of use. Since Amenhotep III's reign was a time when new types of objects flowered, and since the S-shaped curve on the aforementioned utensil's antelope (as well as other images used on other examples) is a hallmark of Amenhotep III style, these implements must be regarded as one of the many luxury items developed during that reign and dying out during the next, with only a few having been kept as heirlooms and finding their way to slightly later tombs or other contexts.

Virtually the only survivors of the royal family's own palace furnishings are brilliantly colored, molded and carved vessels, many bearing the names of their owners. Most remarkable for its pure colors and precise decoration is the Louvre's bright yellow, sack-shaped faience vessel with red, white, blue,

31. Also against the hair-curler identification is the fact that metal curlers work best when heated and these objects would have been too hot to grasp without handles that would not conduct heat. One of the Amarna Letters does include in a list of gifts "twenty-nine spatulas of silver with handles of boxwood and ebony with which one curls the hair (?)," so if the reading "hair" for the word *sherda* is correct, hair curlers did exist. None of the little objects called hair curlers, however, have been found with handles. Furthermore, many Egyptians undoubtedly had naturally curly hair. For those who did not, the easiest way to produce the intricately crimped hair fashionable during Amenhotep III's time was to wet the entire wig and then braid it into numerous thin plaits. When dry and combed out, such plaits produce precisely the effect we see pictured in Ramose's and Menna's tombs. However, curled hair was also fashionable in the Near East, so the curlers described may have been export ware. Freed has brought other arguments forward in Brovanski, Doll, and Freed (1982) 193–94.

32. University College London, Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology no. UC 8529. Exhibited: Amsterdam, 1984, Allard Pierson Museum, *Egypte, Eenders en Anders*, no. 212. Published: Petrie (1917) 49, pl. LXI, 18.

33. See Kozloff and Bryan (1992) nos. 76–77, pp. 348–50.

and green trim, the cartouches of Amenhotep III and Tiye on the front being produced in cobalt blue (fig. 4.2).<sup>34</sup> The vessel's ripe lemon color was produced by the most precise manipulation of the kiln's temperature; to have achieved it in such richness evenly around the entire body of the vessel is extraordinary. Pure reds and whites are also tricky, and to have managed all of these along with light green and a deep purple blue was a tour de force. Furthermore, each detail is crystal clear, a feat that demanded the most expert control not only of kiln temperatures but also of materials that at one stage in the manufacture were powder and at another liquid. The technical brilliance of this piece, its elegant and balanced design, and its rich color make it one of the finest faience vessels ever made.

Rich yellow with purple blue accents was the favorite color combination for faience objects inscribed jointly for Amenhotep III and Tiye, not the copper-induced turquoise blue with black manganese decoration that had from earliest times been the most common color for faience. The yellow and purple blue color combination was not, however, Amenhotep III's preference.<sup>35</sup> The preferred two-tone combination for objects bearing the king's cartouches was cobalt blue with copper-blue green. Queen Tiye's color range was more diverse, sometimes copying her husband's, sometimes, as on the Louvre ointment jar, branching out into yellow with purple blue or bright white with purple blue. White with cobalt blue was the favorite combination of their daughter-in-law, Nefertiti. Thus, we date the Louvre's faience brilliant white Bes vessel with bright blue and red trim to either the end of the one reign or the beginning of the next.<sup>36</sup>

34. Paris, Musée du Louvre no. E 4877. H. 8.4 cm, Diam. 6.6 cm. Ex collection: Raïfé, 1867. Exhibited: Paris, 1982, Grand Palais, *Naissance de l'écriture*, fig. 231. Published: Pierret (1873) 88, no. 362; Wallis (1898) 9, fig. 16; Vandier d'Abbadie (1972) 72–73, no. 240, frontispiece (color). I first handled this object in the dim light of the Louvre galleries, and there the subtle green was invisible. Until I had the jar in Cleveland for the first showing of *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, I did not notice that the lotus flowers on the jar's lip have light green sepals, thus, only the red, white, blue, and yellow are discussed in the exhibition catalog. One side bears three columns of inscription dedicating the vessel to Amenhotep III and Tiye, within a square border, all in deep purple blue. The rightmost column reads, "King's wife, Tiye, may she prosper." Facing her inscription, in the center column, is the inscription "The good god, Nebmaatra, given life eternally." The last word of this inscription is actually placed under the third column, which reads, "Son of [the god] Ra, Amenhotep, ruler of Thebes."

35. Kozloff (1997). Amenhotep III's cobalt blue objects are usually inscribed in copper-induced blues.

36. The Louvre Bes jar is no. N 4469, H. 8.4 cm. Published: Vandier d'Abbadie (1972) 56, no. 164, color plate opposite p. vi; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 409, no. 110, and color plate 58. Brilliant two-tone and multicolor faïences bearing the names of Amenhotep III and female members of his family are far more numerous than those related to any other king. Vandiver (1990) 110 attributes the expanded palette to a technique, new around 1500 B.C., of grinding up



Related to the faience objects are those made of *kyanos*, known best by the misnomer "Egyptian blue" and perhaps as *khemet* in ancient Egyptian, which may look like either glass or faience, but which is chemically quite distinct.<sup>37</sup> Actually a crystalline substance that forms from copper or copper ore when heated with silica sand and sodium or potassium, it is prevented from turning into glass by the presence of excess calcium. Without the luxury of scientific analyses, faience, Egyptian blue, and glass are easiest to identify at breaks or chips in their glossy surfaces, where faience's coarsely textured core<sup>38</sup>—most commonly a sandy white, gray, or tan color—contrasts with Egyptian blue's dense, matte, homogeneous color and glass's wet, puddled appearance. Yet another substance, "glassy faience" has an unusually high proportion of glaze to quartz and, depending on the length of firing, can look more or less like either faience or glass.

In its leather-hard state before firing, *kyanos* could be carved into intricate patterns. A vessel fragment in the Fitzwilliam Museum is a rare example both of this technique and of green *kyanos*.<sup>39</sup> The elaborate accoutrements on the king (triple *atef*-crown and uraei with disks) and Tiye (elaborate headdress) and the fragmentary presence of Sitamen with her cartouche date this object to the end of the reign. Another tinier fragment of a similar vessel now

glass and adding it to the quartz body. The number of such faiences is out of proportion even to the number preserved for his son's family. During my research I encountered nearly four dozen inscribed for Amenhotep III alone, thirteen inscribed jointly for him and his queen, and seven for her alone. See Kozloff (1997). We found none inscribed for Akhenaten alone, two combining his name with Nefertiti's, and six for Nefertiti alone. Though Akhenaten's reign was almost half the length of his father's, we could find only about one-eighth as many two-color inscribed faiences for the younger royal couple. The few inscribed two-tone faiences from Akhenaten's reign combined either pure blue and blue green or white and purple blue; not a single example contained Amenhotep III's favorite combination of purple blue with blue green. Despite the lack of color variety in Akhenaten's inscribed faiences, the beads, amulets, rings, and decorative tiles found at Amarna show a remarkably rich spectrum of colors that equals that of his father's decorative objects, from lemon yellows to leafy greens to grapey purples to pomegranate reds.

37. See Cooney (n.d.) 214. For the structure and origins of Egyptian blue, see Dayton, Bowles, and Shepperd (1980) 319–51. While usually blue in color as its name suggests, Egyptian blue can also be green. For a much more detailed discussion of the composition, fabrication, uses, and ancient names of various pharaonic manufactured materials, see Andrews (1992) 57–63; for discussion of the differences among these various materials, the history of their study, and the various terms applied to them, see Miller (1986) 342–47.

38. The core is made of powdered quartz, usually with impurities, cemented with alkali or lime or both. Intact pieces may sometimes be identified because the slightly coarser or subtly pocked core will be visible through the glaze; occasionally a quartz crystal will break through the surface. Dr. Robert Brill, research chemist at the Corning Museum of Glass, advises that this technique of distinguishing broken fragments of glass from Egyptian blue will probably work about 80 percent of the time, but that chemical analysis is needed for accuracy.

39. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum no. EGA 4605.1943, H. 5.7 cm. Illustrated: Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 395, fig. XIII.1.

preserved at Highclere was actually found by Carnarvon and Carter in Amenhotep III's tomb.<sup>40</sup>

Inlays of hieroglyphs and decorative borders were made from these materials for some of the finer royal faience, ivory, and wooden objects. Preserved precisely because of their small size, with no breaks or chips, it is often impossible to identify the precise material visually. The similarity of both the vessel shapes, such as the flute-shaped kohl tubes made in ivory and in faience, and these inlaid elements raises the possibility that the workshops producing faience objects operated very closely with those working in ivory.

While cosmetic vessels and jewelry in faience are common to Amenhotep III's reign, few drinking vessels have been found. Chalices in the form of lotuses with elegant pedestal feet, for example, are best known from other reigns both before and after his, especially during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, although a fragment of one in the Metropolitan Museum is inscribed for this king.<sup>41</sup> Undoubtedly the royal family drank from gold, silver, electrum, even bronze vessels, which have since been melted down. Indeed, the painted scenes in private tombs suggest that ornate metal vessels were not restricted to royalty. The Deir el-Medina tomb of the overseer of works Kha and his wife Meryt, whose furnishings are now housed in Turin, contained several large, plain, bronze jugs.

The stone vessels carved during the reign of Amenhotep III are part of a tradition as old as Egypt's history, yet, despite the blossoming of almost every other artistic medium during his reign, stone-vessel carving stagnated. The few known Egyptian alabaster vessels inscribed for him or his family members are unimpressive. Uninscribed alabaster vessels can be dated to the reign mostly by comparison with shapes of alabaster vessels in Kha's tomb and by comparison with shapes in other media, such as clay vessels, either made in Egypt or imported into Egypt during this reign. While faience and glass seemed to decline after Amenhotep III, the art of carving alabaster vessels into supreme works of art was to reach its zenith during the reign of Tutankhamen.

Gleaming and rainbow-colored glass vessels were a delicious luxury of Amenhotep III's court. Small enough to fit into the palm of a princess's hand, these precious vials held the special necessities of courtly life—ointments and perfumes. The large numbers of provenanced glass vessels and fragments coming from palace sites, particularly Amenhotep III's at Malqata and his son Akhenaten's at Amarna, prove they were used in domestic settings. Of

40. Highclere no. H629.

41. See Brovarski in Brovarski, Doll, and Freed (1982) 146.



course, when choosing objects to be placed in people's Mansions of Eternity, those who enjoyed such luxuries in life were likely to take them along for use in the afterlife as well. Therefore, the most spectacular group of intact glasses of the reign was found inside a painted wooden box in Kha's tomb.<sup>42</sup> Such prized possessions as these, however, did not necessarily accompany their original owners to the tomb. Some pieces were traded abroad,<sup>43</sup> and others undoubtedly stayed above ground for a while, becoming heirlooms and being entombed several generations later.

These vessels were formed by wrapping molten glass around a core, then removing the core after the work was finished, leaving a hollow vessel. The exact origin of this technique is controversial, but whether it was invented in the Near East or in Egypt, it took Egyptian craftsmen to turn the technique into a fine art reaching its first high point during the reign of Amenhotep II and then its second during the reign of Amenhotep III. The manufacture of glass vessels, which blossomed during Amenhotep III's reign, was spurred no doubt by the increase of private wealth and consumption. But the king's own tastes surely set the fashion, since the only major glass workshop of his reign found to date was on the grounds of his Malqata Palace.<sup>44</sup> Unless the glass factory at Kom Medinet Ghurab turns out to have been in operation during the reign of Amenhotep III's father or earlier, Malqata is the oldest of the six known New Kingdom glass workshops, including those at Amarna, Kom Medinet Ghurab, el-Mansha, el-Lisht, and Tell el-Yahudiya.<sup>45</sup> These factories are well documented by manufacturing tools, such as fritting pans and unused rods.

Unlike faience, glass vessels are almost never inscribed. Therefore, to identify glass vessels to the reign of Amenhotep III, one must rely partially on comparison with fragments found at the Malqata workshop to suggest color, density, opacity, handle shape, foot shape, and so on. Several traits charac-

terizing the fragments of finished vessels found at Malqata are apparent:<sup>46</sup> (1) a predominance of cobalt-colored purple blue;<sup>47</sup> (2) greater opacity among the cobalt blue glasses compared to the Amarna glasses;<sup>48</sup> (3) vessel feet often made separately and attached; (4) pommel handles on small jars (*krateriskoi*); (5) decoration often left unsmoothed (unmarvered); (6) frequent use of spirally formed two-toned rods as decorative rims on vessel lips, shoulders, handles, and feet; (7) elegant shapes. Some of the glass made at Amarna is similar, but a great deal of it is quite different, and the evolution there of color, opacity, handle shape, foot shape, and decoration is as unique to that site as is Malqata's.

Like many other small objects, the glass vessels of Amenhotep III's reign were highly prized, became heirlooms, and found their way into tombs of later date. Thus, examples that we can now clearly state as having been made during the reign of Amenhotep III have previously been given date ranges as late as the reign of Ramses II or even Ramses IV.

The British Museum's glass bottle in the shape of a Nile fish (fig. 4.3),<sup>49</sup> probably the most famous glass vessel from ancient Egypt, has been perhaps misdated because of the site at which it was found. The product of both tremendous technical skill and creative design genius, this blue vessel's yellow and white festoons are an imaginative simulation of rows of fish scales. The eyes are slices of a black-and-white spiral glass cane made from heating and twisting together two rods, one white and one blue black.<sup>50</sup> The

46. The author studied glass from Malqata in the following collections: British Museum, Metropolitan Museum, Toledo Museum of Art, Victoria and Albert Museum, and Victoria Museum, Uppsala University, Sweden.

47. A few fragments of opaque turquoise blue glass are among the Metropolitan Museum's Malqata glasses but are much rarer than the cobalt blue.

48. Indicating, according to Brill (personal communication), a heavier use of cobalt.

49. British Museum no. EA 55193, L. 14.5 cm, W. 7 cm, Diam. 3.2 cm. Found at Amarna in 1921 by the Egypt Exploration Society under the floor of a small room outside House no. N. 49.20, together with two other glass bottles and three silver vessels. Presented by the Egypt Exploration Society from its excavations at Amarna, 1921. Exhibited: Montreal, 1985, Palais de la Civilisation, *The Great Pharaoh Ramses II and His Time*, no. 57; Tokyo, 1990, Setagaya Museum, *The Treasures of The British Museum, Art and Man*, also exhibited in Yamaguchi and Osaka. Published: Peet (1921) 175, pl. XXX; Peet and Woolley (1923) 24, pl. XII, 3; Nolte (1968) 70, pl. XXIX, no. 2; Cooney (1976) 146, pl. VII, no. 1753.

50. The single-handled jug with which this fish bottle was found is decorated with black and white twisted rods of the same diameter as the ones from which the fish eyes were made. Wrapped around the body of the bottle and marvered smooth into its sides, the rods' side views are visible as alternating strips of black and white. I do not know of a black-and-white spiraled rod of this thickness on another Egyptian glass. That and the common findspot of the two vessels suggest origins in the same workshop. The rest of the jug's decoration is made from broad trails of yellow and white as on the fish but is not as neatly executed. See Peet (1921) pl. XXX.

42. Turin, Museo Egizio no. suppl. 8479.

43. Two examples clearly of Amenhotep III date now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, were said to have been found, according to their nineteenth-century provenances, "in a Greek tomb." By writing "Greek" the original recorders must have meant Mycenaean. The vessels are no. 1006-1868 and no. 1011-1868. See Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 384, no. 92, and 391, no. 99.

44. Possibly at least one of the glassmakers there was a holdover from Thutmose IV's workshops, which were perhaps in the Memphite area. It is possible, however, that Malqata was the only major glass-vessel production site while Malqata Palace was inhabited. See Lythgoe (1918) suppl. p. 6.

45. These workshops are discussed more fully in Cooney (n.d.) 98-122; Nolte (1968) 22-26; and briefly in Silvano (1988) 61-63.



frontal view of the fish is comical, and even though *bulti*-fish had important connotations for the owner's afterlife, it is impossible to believe that this shimmering little swimmer, with its gaping mouth and astonished eyes, did not make its owner smile.

In fact, this glass fish was so well loved that its owner seems to have buried it for safekeeping in the floor of his house at Amarna, where it was found in fragments. However, better evidence of its place of manufacture is a tail fragment of an identical glass fish found in the scraps at Malqata Palace and now preserved in the Metropolitan Museum study collections. Its fabric is also similar to glasses of different shapes known from the Malqata site and from our king's reign.

Without its fins and eyes, the fish matches the *amphoriskos*, a shape of glass vessel popular during the reign of Amenhotep III; turning it vertically makes the similarity obvious. What would have been an *amphoriskos* neck has been pincer flat to form a fishtail, and the spot where the *amphoriskos*'s foot would have been attached is left open to form the fish's mouth. The glass vessels from Kha's tomb, especially the kohl tube and an unusual pear-shaped jar, provide close parallels for the workmanship and fabric of this fish in terms of decoration, color, and translucency.<sup>51</sup>

The British Museum fish, therefore, probably comes from the same workshop as the two mentioned vessels from Kha's tomb, and considering the fishtail fragment in the Metropolitan Museum, that workshop was most likely at Malqata.

It is also useful to compare shapes of glass vessels with shapes of pottery vessels from dated contexts or with shapes of objects in other media, for example, architectural columns.

Palm-column kohl tubes are based on an architectural model, a column of palm fronds tied together near the top so that they fan out above to form a capital. The use of actual palm fronds to designate holy places, in particular royal burial monuments, goes back to prehistoric times. The palm was the heraldic plant of Upper Egypt and the seat of the sun god; thus, the palm

51. The glass vessels' festoon decoration is quite similar to this fish's scales. The trails of white and yellow are rather broad and—after having been drawn with a point into festoons—were marvered flat, leaving no ridges. The color and translucency of these glasses are also similar. The main color of the British Museum fish is closest to Munsell no. 2.5PB3/4, a dark, slightly muddy cobalt blue nearly identical to no. 5PB3/6, the color of Kha's palm-column kohl tube. Of the four purple blue charts, 2.5 is slightly bluer, 5PB is a middle purple blue, and 10PB is more purple. The suffix numbers range from 2/ (darkest) to 9/ (lightest) and from /1 (least amount of color—closest to white or black) to /18 (richest in color). Therefore, 2.5PB3/4 and 5PB3/6 are rather similar. The fish, the kohl tube, and the pear-shaped jar are slightly translucent, as seems to be characteristic of glasses toward the end of Amenhotep III's reign.

column was "used in the royal palaces and in temple chambers set apart for the royal cult."<sup>52</sup> After originating in the Old Kingdom, this shape appeared only intermittently and seems unknown in Eighteenth Dynasty architecture until its revival by Amenhotep III for his temple at Soleb. Considering the emphasis on the sun god in his architecture and iconography and since Amenhotep III himself was worshiped at Soleb, palm-column kohl tubes may have had a particular meaning related to him or to his cult.

The proportions of a flask in the British Museum<sup>53</sup> match those of the Soleb columns,<sup>54</sup> and like the Soleb columns, its capital has eight fronds. Because its bottom end is rounded, when not in use it must have lain propped on its fragile palm-frond tips. A palm-column flask in the Metropolitan Museum,<sup>55</sup> also with Soleb-type proportions, shares with the British Museum flask the Malqata characteristics of opaque cobalt blue glass and unmarvered decoration, with the ribs and the bands on the neck standing out in relief against the body, a characteristic of the best of these vessels. In addition, it has the spiral-form rim favored at Malqata.

At the other end of the kohl-tube spectrum are those with squatter proportions, such as one in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.<sup>56</sup> In contrast to the British Museum kohl tube, the proportions of this kohl tube match those of Amenhotep IV's palm columns at Sesebi, not far from Soleb in the Sudan.<sup>57</sup> In general, glass kohl tubes with proportions closer to the Sesebi columns also have smoothly marvered decoration like Amarna glass vessels, though not many are translucent and colors other than cobalt blue are rare.<sup>58</sup> The Walters flask, like about one-third of the known kohl tubes, has a flattened

52. Müller (1986) 118.

53. British Museum no. EA 2589, H. 10 cm, Diam. 2.9 cm. Published: Wallis Budge (1925) 260; Cooney (1976) 147, no. 1756; Nolte (1968) 149, no. 48, pl. XXXIV.

54. The combined height of the capital and the decorative bands below on both the British Museum kohl tube and the Soleb columns is equal to about 30 percent of the total height of the column. In both the tube and the column, the diameter of the capital fronds is also equal to about 30 percent of the height of the column.

55. Metropolitan Museum no. 26.7.1181. Published: Hayes (1959) fig. 109, third from right.

56. Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery no. 47.45, H. 8.3 cm, Diam. 3.6 cm. Published: Nolte (1968) 147, no. 38, pl. XXXIII.

57. Its occurrence in a faience tube from the tomb of the official Maiherpra during the reign of Amenhotep II may copy the architectural element on an earlier Eighteenth Dynasty building now lost.

58. An exception is the opaque turquoise example formerly in the Kofler Collection. See Müller (1964) 96, no. A 136b, pl. III. Sale: London, Sotheby's, 5 and 6 March 1985, no. 348. Müller said that the provenance was unknown and dated it "ob Amarnazeit"; the Sotheby catalog states it is "from Amarna," perhaps from information acquired after the first publication.



foot, enabling it to stand. In general, the flasks with flattened ends have capitals matching the Sesebi proportions or are quite squat as though the actual column had been forgotten. In general, when these flasks have palm ribs, as here, they are smooth.

Its proportions and decoration suggest that the Walters flask was made later than the British Museum one, though it is not clear whether it was made at Malqata—either in the very last years of Amenhotep III's reign or in the first years of Amenhotep IV's reign—or (less likely) at Amarna. The two examples stand just about at the opposite end of the poles of types of palm-column kohl tubes, with almost all of the rest known falling into the developmental line somewhere between the two. This suggests, then, that all palm-column glass kohl tubes were made during the reign of Amenhotep III and the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep IV and that their length of manufacture does not stretch on through the end of the dynasty or into Ramesside times.

The core-formed vessel industry peaked during Amenhotep III's reign. While new forms and colors were created during the Amarna period, quantity seems to have declined, and the relatively poor vessels found in Tutankhamen's tomb look like the last gasp of a spent industry. Yet glass was used lavishly in the form of inlays in gold objects, from coffins to jewelry, in Tutankhamen's tomb, so only the glass vessel, not the entire glass industry, had disappeared. Perhaps there was a problem with toxicity in some vessels resulting from unreacted lead oxides dissolving in mildly acidic cosmetics and poisoning their users.<sup>59</sup> What we witness at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty may be a revamped industry no longer producing glass for domestic use but only for funerary or temple decoration, as Cooney postulated at Tell el-Yahudiya (see n. 45).

Pottery, rarely more than a utilitarian craft in Egypt, reached a high point in the Eighteenth Dynasty, perhaps especially at Malqata during the reign of Amenhotep III and continuing through the end of the dynasty. Some of the more common shapes are high-necked amphorae, slim handleless buckets (*situlae*)—some with pinched necks and often with pointed bottoms that were stood in ring stands or in hollows dug in the ground—and wide, shallow bowls (which required no stand).

The fanciest of the Malqata wares, only about 4 to 7 percent by some estimations,<sup>60</sup> have blue paint<sup>61</sup> or polychrome decoration, while even fewer

59. See Vandiver (1990) 110.

60. Hope (1989) 12.

61. The blue pigment has been identified as a calcium/aluminum/silica frit colored by cobalt. See Dayton, Bowles, and Shepperd (1980) 319, 330, 337–39.

have elements modeled in relief or made separately and attached to shoulders or rims (fig. 4.4). In some instances, the neck is modeled with a face representing the goddess Hathor or the god Bes, is decked with the graceful form of a recumbent gazelle,<sup>62</sup> or is painted with the types of scenes now familiar from the tomb walls and ritual implements of the period.<sup>63</sup> The fragility of the paint on the polychrome vessels may have made them more suitable as tomb equipment than for domestic use.<sup>64</sup>

Small objects of Egyptian faience, glass, *kyanos*, and alabaster traveled widely. The most impressive faience exports from Amenhotep III's reign are the plaques inscribed with the king's name found at Mycenae, which some scientists feel is the true source of *kyanos*.<sup>65</sup> These large blocks are copper-induced turquoise blue with manganese inscriptions, and in the relatively damp Greek environment their glazes have almost completely devitrified to reveal the powdery white core.<sup>66</sup> Objects carved from natural materials also traveled throughout the ancient world. A fish vessel carved in butter-colored Egyptian alabaster was found in Israel.<sup>67</sup> Ugarit and Byblos have disclosed especially large numbers of imports from Egypt.

Comparatively few of the glass, faience, pottery, or stone objects offer any iconography approaching the arcane symbolism of the wood spoons or ritual implements. Some, such as the flute-shaped kohl tubes, have a specific relationship to Hathor's cult, as any cosmetic containers are inherently connected with the goddess of love and beauty.

It is impossible to write about the small objects produced during the reign of Amenhotep III without discussing the jewelry, yet it is almost impossible to write about the jewelry firsthand, because so little of it has survived. Therefore, discussion of jewelry from this reign, both royal trinkets and private, has to be based more on indirect evidence supplied by paintings and sculpture than on direct evidence of jewelry itself.

It seems almost bizarre that this is the case for such a long and art-productive period, yet, from all three thousand years of pharaonic history in Egypt—the period spanned by thirty dynasties of ruling families comprising

62. As is Metropolitan Museum, Rogers Fund, no. 11.215.460.

63. As is Brooklyn Museum no. 59.2.

64. Hope (1989) 13; Bell (1987) 49–76.

65. For faience of Amenhotep III found at Mycenae, including plaques in the Athens Museum and a bowl, see Hall (1928) 211; Cline (1987, 1990).

66. Egyptian faience traveled widely and has been found in archaeological contexts in western Asia, Greece, and even as far away as northern Europe, Great Britain, and Ireland—those in the farthest reaches being small beads. See Stone (1956) 37–84, with notes on the spectrochemical analysis of faience by Thomas.

67. Israel Museum no. IDAM 47.286. See Israeli and Tadmor (1986) 120–21.



more than 160 kings known to us today and their innumerable queens and princesses—only six major caches of royal jewelry have been discovered in modern times. These include the Middle Kingdom treasures found at el-Lahun,<sup>68</sup> el-Lisht,<sup>69</sup> and Dahshur;<sup>70</sup> the Eighteenth Dynasty hoard of jewelry belonging to three princesses of Amenhotep III's great-grandfather Thutmose III at Thebes;<sup>71</sup> the hundreds of spectacular items found on the mummy and in the tomb of Amenhotep III's grandson Tutankhamen;<sup>72</sup> and their near equals in style and workmanship, if not in number, from the tombs of Twenty-first to Twenty-second Dynasty kings at Tanis.<sup>73</sup>

Judging by the richness of the other arts and by the amount of elaborate jewelry represented on sculpture, on coffins, and in tomb paintings, Amenhotep III's workshops must have produced lavish amounts of fine jewelry. Perhaps it disappeared during the disturbances of the royal burials in the later New Kingdom. Gold was always the first target in such burglaries, since it was so easy to melt down and reuse. At least one pectoral from Tutankhamen's tomb shows sign of reworking. Perhaps it was made originally for Amenhotep III or perhaps for Amenhotep IV, who eschewed gold for more Atenistic gems. It may not be coincidental that the only finds of New Kingdom royal jewelry after the Eighteenth Dynasty are the spectacular objects from Tanis dating to the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties, which happened to follow a period of civil wars in Thebes when the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings were ransacked. It is not beyond conjecture that the gold amulets, pectorals, and armbands found there are reincarnations of the jewelry of earlier kings.

Of all the rings, bracelets, armlets, pectorals, and necklaces that must have belonged to Amenhotep III, his queens, and their children, the only inscribed ones made of precious or semiprecious materials known today are the carnelian plaques (fig. 4.5)—undoubtedly once framed in gold, now in the Metropolitan Museum—and a few rings that may have been the king's own or his gifts to court favorites.<sup>74</sup> A few fine examples of faience beads and

68. See Hayes (1953) 233–36; Saleh and Sourouzzian (1987) nos. 108, 112, 113.

69. See Hayes (1953) 230–32.

70. See Saleh and Sourouzzian (1987) nos. 109–11.

71. See Hayes (1959) 130–40; Aldred (1971) pls. 61–66, 84, 85.

72. See Saleh and Sourouzzian (1987) no. 191. See Edwards (1976) 130–33, nos. 21–23; 137–38, nos. 26–27; 140, no. 29.

73. See the exhibition catalog *Tanis, l'or des pharaons* (Paris: Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Association Française d'Action Artistique, 1987) 238–43, nos. 78–80.

74. For the carnelian plaques, see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 442–44, no. 123; for rings inscribed for the king and queen, see *ibid.*, 448–49, nos. 127–30.

bangles exist as well.<sup>75</sup> None is known for sure to have come from the king's own tomb, although considering the number of explorations of that tomb in the past two centuries, such a possibility cannot be ruled out. These finds are scattered among public collections, such as the Louvre, British Museum, Metropolitan Museum, and Cleveland Museum of Art.

There are not many examples of fine jewelry belonging to officials of Amenhotep III's reign. One might have hoped for that most important piece of jewelry awarded to a deserving official, the gold of honor, or *shebyu*-collar (a choker necklace of two or more rows of disk-shaped gold beads),<sup>76</sup> or for the gold bangles usually awarded with it. Unfortunately, being relatively small and perfect for either bartering or melting down, these must also have tempted grave robbers.

The two most important finds of jewelry in courtiers' tombs are meager. Hatiay's wood pectoral or chest plaque overlaid with gold sheet and inlaid with a scarab is one of the few surviving pieces from an official's burial<sup>77</sup> (the same Theban burial from which came Henut-wedjebu's coffin, described later in this discussion). Aper-El's Saqqara tomb might have been completely stripped at some time in history if a devastating fire had not caused it to cave in. The excavator, Zivie, sifting through the remaining congealed melt, has identified some remarkable objects, including a gold ring, gold necklace beads, and faience beads and a lotus necklace terminal from a broad collar.<sup>78</sup>

With few exceptions—such as (1) headgear and handheld attributes specifically designed for the king or for one of his women or (2) the ornate accoutrements of priests—jewelry in Amenhotep III's reign was unisex, as it had been for most of Egypt's history. Men and women alike wore elaborate broad necklaces of two distinct types. Floral *wah*-collars comprised numerous rows of beads molded in faience, cut in semiprecious stone, or fashioned in gold; they were most elegantly represented on the royal mother-in-law's mummy mask. Broad *weskhet*-collars were made in the same materials but of simpler, tube-shaped beads and were the standard form of collar shown on statues of the king himself. Amenhotep III's collars were part of a late Eighteenth Dynasty fashion for ever-widening collars. Hatshepsut's

75. For the necklace elements British Museum no. EA 65817, Metropolitan Museum no. 66.99.66, Louvre no. E 22687, and Cleveland Museum nos. 19.618–19, see *ibid.*, 445, 447, nos. 124 and 126; for the armlets Louvre no. N 805 and Metropolitan Museum no. 26.7.913, see *ibid.*, 446, no. 125.

76. As is recorded in a scene from a wall of his Saqqara tomb, such collars were heaped on Horemheb, the military general who became king. This fragment of limestone relief is now in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

77. Cairo, Egyptian Museum no. JE 31379, H. 11 cm.

78. Zivie (1990) 147–49, 169.



necklaces had been half as wide. At the other end of the spectrum, Tutankhamen's mummy mask wears a twelve-strand necklace extending by three and one-half rows below the lappets of his *nemes*-headdress. The width of Amenhotep III's necklaces was in between, usually terminating at about the same point as the lappets.

The *wah*-collar was more than just an item of jewelry, for the act of placing it around one's neck was actually among the rites observed during the Festival of the Valley in the Eighteenth Dynasty. It probably had funerary significance, since on Tutankhamen's portable shrine it is called the '*wah*-collar of justification' located at the neck of Osiris, and since it was expected to rejuvenate lifeless limbs and hearts.

The fashion of widening necklaces attracted private individuals during the end of the dynasty. In fact, the new fashion seems to appear earlier on private individuals than on the king himself. Necklaces in Menna's tomb from earlier in the reign, worn especially by women and less by men, are broad enough in some instances to drape over the wearer's shoulders. From the other end of the reign, the fifteen-strand necklace on Henut-wedjebu's coffin was wide enough not just to drape her shoulders but to cover her breasts. Yet Princess Isis's collar on a statue that Betsy Bryan has demonstrated to have been made late in the reign—part of a group including Amenhotep III—draped over the top of her shoulders and reaches to just above her breasts.<sup>79</sup>

The *shebyu*-collar is usually considered a gift given to male officials, but the small statue of Manana—whom we might judge to be a lady from the richness of her other adornments (bracelets, necklace, and multiple wig ornaments)—apparently wears the gold of honor as well. And, of course, the *shebyu* was not restricted to officials. The king himself also wore it, as did princes, such as Si-Atum, who is known to us only on the tomb relief of his nurse Meryra now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.<sup>80</sup>

In tomb paintings, both men and women wore bracelets on their wrists and armlets on their upper arms. Statues from later in the reign depict the king wearing bangle armlets above the elbow, perhaps like the faience ones in the Metropolitan Museum and the Louvre, and cuff bracelets resembling actual rigid gold ones with lengthwise registers of inlaid semiprecious stone, of which the closest examples are known from the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>81</sup> Bracelets worn by private individuals often resemble the multistrand, beaded

79. Geneva, Switzerland, George Ortiz Collection. See Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 206–8, no. 24.

80. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung no. ÄS 5814. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 292–93, no. 58.

81. Aldred (1971) pl. 64. For bracelets in general, see also Andrews (1992) 145–60.

type known from Thutmose III's reign,<sup>82</sup> though sometimes they are simple gold bands.

Although earrings were also worn by both men and women during this reign, Amenhotep III was never depicted wearing them. In contrast, his successors Akhenaten, Tutankhamen, and eventually the Ramesside kings were shown with pierced ears. The evidence that Amenhotep never wore earrings and that widening necklaces appeared on private individuals before they did on the king indicate that in ancient Egypt new fashions started among the populace before they were taken up by the ruling family, just as often happens today.

Finger rings, rarely depicted in either sculpture or painting, are the most common surviving item of jewelry, probably because they are small and were made in great numbers—certainly not because of their durability, because most known today are made of fragile faience. There are two main kinds of rings: the seal ring, usually made of metal and inscribed with the king's or the queen's cartouche; and the amulet ring, often made of faience and bearing the icon of a particular god (such as a goose or duck representing Amen or Geb) or another favorite motif (such as the gazelle and the thicket, a foreign design newly popular in Egypt at this time).<sup>83</sup> Faience rings of Amenhotep III's reign are often two colors or more, typically in their brightest, purest hues.

Openwork pectorals or chest plaques, known as *wedja* to the ancient Egyptians and made of gold inlaid with glass or semiprecious stones, were among the most common types of jewelry. They were usually symmetrical, such as mirror images of a Horus falcon, a sphinx, or two gods flanking a central image of the king, his cartouche, or a scarab. A pectoral dangling from a beaded chain could be worn by itself or over another necklace, as on a statue of Amenhotep III as Amen now in Brooklyn. The pectoral's popularity during Amenhotep III's day is illustrated in a scene from Nebamun and Ipuky's Theban tomb, showing artisans hard at work producing them,<sup>84</sup> and from another in Kheruef's tomb, where pectorals are among the ornaments—"embellishments of monuments in electrum and every kind of metal without limit"—that he shows off to the king and queen.<sup>85</sup>

Except on statuettes of Amenhotep III wearing the blue crown, which may postdate the reign, the king was almost always adorned at least with some

82. Aldred (1971) pl. 84.

83. See, e.g., Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 450, nos. 132–34.

84. Davies (1925) pl. XIV.

85. Epigraphic Survey (1980) pl. 47.



sort of necklace;<sup>86</sup> but jewelry was not worn by everyone all the time. Scribes shown in their short-sleeved T-shirts, like the privately owned Minemheb or the Louvre's Nebmerutef and Neferronpet, did not wear jewelry, nor did Cairo's Amenhotep son of Hapu when depicted bare-chested as a scribe.<sup>87</sup> When they donned their priestly costumes, individuals like Turin's Anen and Berlin's Taitai wore no necklaces or bracelets, though the animal pelt they wore may have been either embroidered or jeweled, as Anen's artificial star-shaped "spots" suggest.<sup>88</sup> Ptahmose the high priest of Ptah, however, is depicted in the Florence Archaeological Museum's scribal statue of Ptahmose wearing a series of three identical pendant-necklaces splayed out on his knees like Olympic medals.<sup>89</sup>

Anen, Taitai, and Ptahmose each wear a peculiar ornament hanging down from the belts of their kilts. Anen's consists of two plaques—a small one attached to the belt by three short chains and inscribed horizontally with the king's nomen, and a larger, square one below, inscribed vertically with his praenomen and attached to the other plaque by three apparently stiff compositions resembling sheaves of papyrus stalks. Taitai's and Ptahmose's are less intricately articulated, but like Anen's they appear rather stiffly composed, as if they were items of jewelry. Ptahmose's has the added touch of eight strands of beads terminating in papyrus umbels hanging from the bottom. One can imagine the jingle-jangle sound echoing among the temples' stone walls as these priests walked.

These priestly ornaments are similar to a presumably jeweled element worn by the king himself on one of the colossal brown quartzite statues from the Montu temple. It is impossible to detect exactly where the embroidery on the kilt might end and where the "hardware" begins, but near the top of the kilt apron a cheetah head wearing the name *Nebmaatira* on its forehead appears certainly to be a three-dimensional element, overlapping three cords or rods, from which dangles a square plaque, composed of two side-by-side cartouches bearing mirror-image inscriptions of "Amenhotep, Ruler of Thebes." This dangling arrangement is framed by cobra tails, the cobras themselves, both winged and crowned with disks, rearing up at the bottom of the kilt and holding cartouches of *Nebmaatira* between their wing tips. The

86. The small seated statuette from Ghurab wears no jewelry, and the Brooklyn Museum's ebony statue (no. 48.28) is not wearing a necklace, though a necklace of another material could have been attached, and with the arms missing there is no way to determine if it wore arm jewelry.

87. See Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 245, no. 40 (Minemheb); 243, no. 38 (Neferronpet); 247, no. 41 (Nebmerutef); 235, no. 44, color plate 24 (Amenhotep son of Hapu).

88. Ibid. no. 43, color plate 23 (Anen); 248, no. 42 (Taitai).

89. Florence, Italy, Museo Egizio no. 1790; see *ibid.* 241–42, no. 37.

cobras and their cartouches are in much lower relief than the plaque, cords, and feline head, perhaps suggesting that they are embroidered rather than a jeweled element in high relief.

Depictions of the king show him wearing far more jewelry later in his reign, and the jewelry style also became more complex. Johnson suggested in the 1992 Cleveland symposium that all aspects of the king's costume became embellished during the final phase of relief decoration at Luxor temple and in late sculpture in the round as well. Among these innovations were "a double or triple *shebyu*-collar . . . usually worn over a floral *wah*-collar and accompanied by armbands and wristlets, also of gold."<sup>90</sup> Again, this may have been a trend set by courtiers before having been assumed by the pharaoh himself.

Johnson also pointed out that in the last phase of Luxor temple's decoration, elements of jewelry in the form of uraei (sacred cobras) wore sun disks on their heads whereas earlier they had not. He noted instances of uraei in the earlier phases of Luxor temple reliefs wherein sun disks had been added to uraeus heads, revision undoubtedly made during the last phase of decoration attributed to Amenhotep III's reign.<sup>91</sup> This suggests that sculpture bearing jewels with disk-crowned uraei, such as Cleveland's brown quartzite head and the statue from the Montu precinct, also date late in the reign.<sup>92</sup>

Jewelry was not necessarily reserved for royalty, rich officials, and their families. Serving girls, undoubtedly considered part of a palace's or a villa's furnishings, were so adorned. The girls in British Museum tomb wall-painting fragments wear as many as five or six gold bracelets on each arm, broad collars, gold girdles, and flowered diadems,<sup>93</sup> and the little Durham girl carrying a large jar is gilded in a line around the hips, as though wearing a gold girdle and a bead necklace with a pendant Bes.<sup>94</sup> Since statues and statuettes housed people's spirits after death, it is not surprising that they could also be decorated with necklaces, as suggested by the quotation from Kheruef's tomb given earlier in this discussion and as illustrated by the ebony statuette of Lady Tiye in the Metropolitan Museum.

90. Johnson (1990) 35. Johnson also notes that previous kings are shown wearing the *shebyu* only in private tomb representations where he feels that they are shown as deceased; therefore, he suggests that Amenhotep III's use of this adornment indicates his having been deified (see *ibid.*, 37). A king did not need to be dead to have his likeness painted on a private tomb wall. The use of the *shebyu* later in the reign was part of the overall trend toward increased adornment, especially with those adornments related to the "dazzling" sun.

91. Personal communication, January 1989, at Luxor temple.

92. For Cleveland Museum no. 61.417, see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 159–60, no. 8; for one of the two large statues in the Montu precinct, no. S.6, see *ibid.* 141, figs. V.21 and V.22, and 439, fig. XV.6.

93. E.g., EA 37986; see *ibid.* 273, figs. IX.20a and b.

94. See *ibid.* 367, no. 87, color plate 42.



Workmanship—brilliant design coupled with technical excellence—embedded with rich spiritual significance is the key to the art of Amenhotep III. The jewelry from his reign, worn by himself, his family, and his contemporaries during their lifetimes and by their mummies in the afterlife, must have been among the finest ever made at any period in man's history. How tragic it is that so little remains!

Most of the objects I have described have lasted through the millennia because they were items of everyday life or were precious keepsakes that accompanied the deceased into the afterworld. Others, notably statues, were made for temples as well as tombs. A certain class of objects, however, whose entire *raison d'être* is the tomb, may be called funerary equipment in the narrowest sense. These objects include wood coffins and stone sarcophagi,<sup>95</sup> canopic jars and chests, and the figurines called *shabtis*.

The splendors of Tutankhamen and, to a lesser extent, the treasures of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasty kings buried at Tanis have revealed to the world the richness not only of royal jewelry but of royal funerary equipment as well. Since Amenhotep III's tomb was looted repeatedly in ancient and in modern times, all that survives today of his funerary equipment are the shattered remnants of his sarcophagus lid (still in situ), *shabtis*, and *shabti* fragments scattered among various museums. There are no gold coffins, no gilded shrines. The few relatively intact private burials, however, show that the funerary equipment produced during this reign was splendid indeed.

During the reign of Amenhotep III, anthropoid, or human-shaped, coffins were the fashion.<sup>96</sup> Wealthy individuals, those connected with the court, were buried in multiple coffins nested one inside the other, elegantly designed and richly decorated, gifts from the royal workshop.

The two anthropoid coffins of the overseer of works Kha from Deir el-Medina (TT 8), now in Turin, are superb examples. The outer coffin is covered with black bitumen, with the face, hands, alternate stripes of the wig, bands of inscription, and figures of funerary gods in gilded gesso.<sup>97</sup> Kha's inner coffin is entirely covered in gold leaf, except for the eyes, eye-

95. Coffins and sarcophagi were the largest and most important items of burial equipment. The word *sarcophagus*, which refers to stone coffins, derives from the Greek *sarkophagos*, "flesh-eater," for a stone coffin that devoured its occupant (presumably referring to one made of limestone, because of the corrosive action of that material on flesh). The very notion of a container devouring the body it held would certainly have horrified the ancient Egyptians, however, who took elaborate precautions (such as mummification) to ensure the preservation of the body. The Egyptian term for sarcophagus was *neb ankh*, "lord of life."

96. For the development of the type, see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 305–8.

97. Schiaparelli (1927) figs. 21, 23.

brows, and cosmetic lines, which are inlaid—quartz or rock crystal for the whites of the eyes, black glass or obsidian for the irises, blue glass for the eyebrows and cosmetic lines. The eye sockets themselves are framed with copper or bronze. His arms are crossed over his chest in the pose of Osiris, lord of the dead. He wears a broad collar with falcon-head terminals. Below this is a vulture with outstretched wings, grasping two *shen*-signs in its talons. Traditionally identified with Nekhbet, the goddess of Upper Egypt, the vulture came to be associated with protective mother and sky goddesses generally. Here she stands for Nut.

Kha's wife Meryt was buried in a single anthropoid coffin, which combines features of Kha's inner and outer coffins: the lid is entirely gilded, but the box is covered with black bitumen, with only the figures and inscriptions gilded. Kha's and Meryt's anthropoid coffins were themselves contained within old-style (Middle Kingdom) rectangular outer coffins covered with black bitumen and having vaulted, gable-ended lids, Kha's being mounted on sledge runners.<sup>98</sup>

Even richer was the burial equipment of Yuya and Tuya, Amenhotep III's in-laws. Yuya had a set of three anthropoid coffins, each more sumptuous than the next.<sup>99</sup> The outer one is covered with black bitumen, with bands of inscription and figures of the gods in gold leaf over gesso; the middle one is covered with silver leaf, with inscriptions and figures of the gods in gold; and the inner one is entirely covered with gold. Tuya had two anthropoid coffins, both covered with gold leaf.<sup>100</sup> These nests of anthropoid coffins were contained within boxlike outer coffins mounted on sledge runners and banded with an inscription in gold leaf and a full panoply of funerary gods.<sup>101</sup>

Undoubtedly made in the same royal workshop was the coffin of Henutwedjebu, singer of Amen, recently rediscovered in a storage room of Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri (fig. 4.6).<sup>102</sup> Anthropoid in shape, the

98. Ibid. 17–20, 28, figs. 18, 27.

99. Quibell (1908) 4–17, pls. II–IV (CG 51002–4).

100. Ibid. 20–27, pls. IX–X (CG 51006–7).

101. Ibid. 1–3, 17–20, pls. VII–VIII (CG 51001, 51005).

102. St. Louis, Washington University Gallery of Art no. 2292 (gift of Charles Parsons, 1896); painted, gilded, and inlaid wood; H. 64.5 cm, W. 52.5 cm, L. 182.5 cm. The coffin of Henutwedjebu is one of the few surviving examples of the richly decorated anthropoid coffins produced during the reign of Amenhotep III. It was discovered in 1896 by Georges Daressy in a small, undecorated tomb at the foot of Sheikh Abd el-Qurha Hill, belonging to the "scribe and granary overseer of the Mansion of the Aten" Hatia. The tomb—really no more than a cave sealed off by a mud-brick wall—contained four coffins. The two largest and most sumptuous coffins belonged to the tomb owner Hatia and the "singer of Amen and lady of the house" Henutwedjebu, who was perhaps his wife. The other two—described by the excavator as "less rich"—belonged to the ladies Siamen and Huy. Their present location is unknown. Besides their



bitumen-covered wood coffin carries inscribed bands of gold leaf on its lid and gold-leaf panels accompanied by images of Anubis and the Four Sons of Horus on the sides of the box. At the foot is a kneeling representation of Isis, and at the head is Nephthys. At the time of Egypt's creation according to myth, these two goddesses gathered together and revitalized Osiris's dispersed parts. Here they form the perfect parentheses for Henut-wedjebu's mummy, and the goddess Nut stretches out across the middle of the lid. The face on the lid is gilded and the eyes inlaid with glass. A multistrand necklace covers the lady's breasts, which are rendered in high relief—unique among surviving coffins, but then so few have survived the centuries of termites, spontaneous combustion, and exploitation as fuel for campfires and locomotives.

Just as splendid are the coffins belonging to Vizier Aper-El, his wife Taweret, and his son Huy, with inscriptions of inlaid glass paste. These coffins were discovered in 1987, in sorry condition as a result of autocombustion in the burial chamber. Now beautifully restored, they come from the vizier's tomb at Saqqara.<sup>103</sup>

Eighteenth Dynasty kings were buried in magnificent stone sarcophagi capable of holding up to three wood anthropoid coffins nested inside one another. By the reign of Thutmose IV, royal sarcophagi had grown to huge size and assumed the shape of a cartouche. They took on the decoration of contemporary private coffins, with transverse bands imitating mummy bandages beginning on the lid and wrapping around the sides of the box, and with figures of gods in the panels thus formed on the sides of the box and at the two ends.<sup>104</sup> Amenhotep III's sarcophagus probably resembled Thutmose IV's.

That the entire box of Amenhotep III should have disappeared without a

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occupants, all four coffins contained wonderful jewelry and decorative arts, such as those discussed in Kozloff and Bryan (1992), which are now in Cairo.

A few months after its discovery, Henut-wedjebu's coffin was acquired by Charles Parsons of St. Louis through Emil Brugsch (assistant curator at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo), who gave it to Washington University. Since then it has been exhibited at the St. Louis Art Museum and the St. Louis Museum of Science and Natural History, though without attracting scholarly attention. Returned to the Washington University Gallery of Art in 1987, it was placed in storage due to its fragile condition. In 1990 Cleveland conservators Bruce Christman and Carol Warner treated the coffin on site before moving it to Cleveland for further conservation and study (the mummy remains in St. Louis). The coffin and its inscriptions had never been fully published until Berman's study in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 312–17.

103. Zivie (1990) pls. 45, 52, 60–69, 95–96.

104. Hayes (1937) 55–57, 116–23, 168–70 (Sarcophagus H); color reproduced in Romer (1981) facing p. 196.

trace is amazing. Its granite lid, broken in fifty pieces, still lies in the sarcophagus chamber of his tomb, number 22 in the west branch of the Valley of the Kings.<sup>105</sup> Its decoration shows two significant innovations. The figure of the goddess Nut (on the underside) is winged for the first time, and the two *wedjat*-eyes that were previously an accoutrement on the side of the box have been moved to the underside of the lid, so that the king's mummy, resting on its back, could see out of them.<sup>106</sup>

Stone sarcophagi of private individuals are rare in the Eighteenth Dynasty, although a few examples are known from the reign of Amenhotep III. Their decoration for the most part reproduces exactly that of the wood versions. Viceroy Merymose, the chief official in Nubia (the source of Amenhotep III's wealth in gold), had no less than three anthropoid sarcophagi, all carved of Nubian or at least Upper Egyptian stone.<sup>107</sup> Their fragments are now scattered among the British Museum, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and Vassar College. (That at the latter institution has only recently been identified by Lawrence Berman, allowing the group to be brought together in public for the first time during the Cleveland exhibition *Egypt's Dazzling Sun* in 1992.) It is interesting that the inner coffin is made of black granodiorite, the outer lid of red granite, and the middle lid of a granite that combines veins of both colors.

In the process of mummification, certain organs—the liver, the lungs, the stomach, and the intestines—were removed, embalmed separately, and stored in canopic jars.<sup>108</sup> Each of these organs was identified with one of the Four Sons of Horus: the liver with Imsety, the lungs with Hapi, the stomach with Duamutef, and the intestines with Qebehsenuef. The four gods were in turn placed under the protection of four goddesses, Imsety being associated with Isis, Hapi with Nephthys, Duamutef with Neith, and Qebehsenuef with Selkis. The richest material for canopic jars was Egyptian alabaster, though for less sumptuous burials limestone or even pottery was used. In the Eighteenth Dynasty the lids are almost invariably all carved in the shape of human heads, among the best being the superb examples found in the tomb of Aper-El and the four canopic jars found in tomb 55 in the Valley of the

105. Hayes (1937) 57–60, 123–31, 170–71 (Sarcophagus I), pl. XVI.

106. Ibid. 129 n. 75, 132.

107. For a listing of the other stone sarcophagi for private individuals of this reign and their citations, see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 308.

108. The jars were named after the Greek sailor Canopus, who was said to be buried at Canopus (Abuqir) in the western Delta and worshiped there in the form of a human-headed jar. Though a misnomer—the “jar” worshiped at Canopus was actually a local form of the god Osiris and had nothing to do with anyone's internal organs—the term has stuck.



Kings, formerly attributed to Tiye or Merytaten and nowadays to Kiya or Akhenaten.<sup>109</sup>

Canopic jars were stored in canopic chests, generally made in the shape of a small shrine on a sledge base, with a cavetto cornice, torus molding, and a lid that slopes backward from front to back. Often they are divided on the inside into four compartments, one for each jar. The decoration of canopic chests usually conforms to that of coffins and is hardly less sumptuous.<sup>110</sup> Yuya and Tuya, for example, both had shrine-shaped canopic chests coated with black bitumen, with inscriptions and figures of gods and goddesses in gesso gilt.<sup>111</sup>

After the needs of the mummy had been taken care of, the deceased still had to make sure that he would not be called on in the afterlife to perform menial labor, especially farm work or labor in the irrigation ditches. This was the function of *shabtis*, or funerary figurines (also called *shawabtis* and *ushebtis*).<sup>112</sup> *Shabtis* were meant to answer for the mummy, and their name comes from the ancient Egyptian words for "Here am I," as these servant figures were to answer when their master was called. To enable them to perform their tasks, *shabtis* were (beginning in the reign of Thutmose IV) often equipped with small hoes and baskets, either held in their hands or provided separately as models, as with Yuya and Tuya.

The reign of Amenhotep III was the great age of the *shabti*, not just in terms of numbers but also in quality and diversity of materials. Exquisite examples were produced in polychrome faience, as were Ptahmose's and Sati's, and in precious wood, as were Maya's.<sup>113</sup> Yuya and Tuya had, altogether, eighteen *shabtis*—fourteen for Yuya, four for Tuya. All eighteen were made of wood and were beautifully carved and painted, and some were enclosed in tall, shrine-shaped *shabti* boxes. The king himself had sixty or so

*shabtis*,<sup>114</sup> in hard and soft stones, as well as in wood and faience. An example in the Metropolitan Museum is a masterpiece.<sup>115</sup> Made of ebony, it has eyes inlaid with colored glass and rimmed with gold, and it bears an inscription—a long version of the *shabti* text especially composed for Amenhotep III—inlaid with glass paste. The headdress, now missing, presumably a royal crown, must have been made of another material, perhaps faience.

One of every ancient Egyptian's dearest desires on his or her death was to join the imperishable stars. Funerary furnishings beautifully made and burial chambers stuffed with the best the king's workshops had to offer—from jewelry to perfume jars to ritual spoons and *menats*, many decked with motifs appealing directly to the mistresses of the imperishable stars themselves—undoubtedly aided the ancient spirit to achieve its last wish.

109. Cairo, Egyptian Museum no. JE 39637; Metropolitan Museum no. 30.8.54; Davis et al. (1910) pls. VII–XIX (as Tiye); Hayes (1959) 297–98, fig. 184 (as Merytaten); Aldred (1957a) 141–47 (as Merytaten); Martin (1985) 111–24, with 3 pls. (as Akhenaten); Krauss (1986) 67–80, with 3 pls. (as Kiya); Aldred (1988) pl. 57 (as Kiya). Color illustration in Saleh and Sourouzian (1987) no. 171.

110. An exceptional example is Leiden's brown quartzite canopic chest of the chief steward Amenhotep, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden no. AM 2; see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 322–23, no. 62.

111. Quibell (1908) 30–33, pls. XIV–XVI (CG 51012, 51013).

112. The standard work on *shabtis* is Schneider (1977); but see also Aubert and Aubert (1974).

113. *Shabti* of the Vizier Ptahmose, Cairo, Egyptian Museum no. CG 48406; see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 310, fig. X.7. *Shabti* of Lady Sati, Brooklyn Museum no. 37.123E; see *ibid.* 328, no. 70, and color plate 37 on p. 304. *Shabti* of Maya, Brooklyn Museum no. 86.226.21; see *ibid.* 329–30, no. 71.

114. According to Strauss-Seeber (1990) 14.

115. Hayes (1959) 241–42.



## Chapter 5

# The City and the World: Worldview and Built Forms in the Reign of Amenhotep III

*David O'Connor*

During the reign of Amenhotep III (1391–1353 B.C.), the Egyptians, at least for a time, seemed to have escaped the traditional, maybe apocryphal, Chinese curse “May you live in interesting times.” The implication of the curse is, of course, that events and processes that make a particular period historically interesting often also cause considerable stress and even suffering for much of the society involved.

Prior to the time of Amenhotep III,<sup>1</sup> many Egyptians found themselves drafted into large military levies and exposed to the privations and dangers of foreign campaigning as the pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1337 B.C.) enthusiastically built up the most substantial empire Egypt ever achieved. Moreover, while elite Egyptians, typically servants of pharaoh and the state, benefited from these developments, they also experienced the unpredictability of a political system in which success or disgrace depended largely on the personal, sometimes arbitrary decisions of an absolute ruler. Some were perhaps also involved in more specifically dangerous situations, arising from Egypt’s internal politics. For example, despite a long co-rulership (1479–1458 B.C.) between the female pharaoh Hatshepsut and her junior partner, Thutmose III, when the latter subsequently became sole ruler (1458–1425 B.C.) he denigrated her memory and defaced her monuments. This implies that officials closely associated with Hatshepsut, and their families, may also have suffered.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, after the death of Amenhotep III, internal tension again increased, and conflict abroad flared. His son and successor, Amenhotep IV, who subsequently renamed himself Akhenaten (1353–1338 B.C.), trans-

1. For Eighteenth Dynasty history prior to Amenhotep III, see James (1973) 289–312; Hayes (1973) 313–416; Drower (1973) 417–525. For discussions that are more summary, see Gardiner (1961) chap. 8; O'Connor (1983) 183–278.

2. On Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, see esp. Redford (1967) chap. 4.



ferred the royal capital to Amarna, disrupting the lives of key officials normally housed at the traditional centers of Memphis and Thebes. He also introduced a form of monotheistic religion, proscribed the cults of the traditional gods, and perhaps radically reorganized the administrative and economic structures of religious institutions. All this certainly impacted on a very wide spectrum of the population. People as a whole, these events imply, were deprived of the psychological and economic supports of traditional religion. Many of the elite may have experienced professional and personal disaster as the king replaced traditionalists with supporters of his innovations and restructured ecclesiastical institutions (and their dependent administrative and economic systems) in the interest of his new religion. Subsequently, when traditional religion was restored, further disturbance within the elite likely occurred, while internal politics during the closing reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty may periodically have proven stressful to many.<sup>3</sup>

Abroad, Egypt's internal distractions and more importantly shifts within the power system of the Near East also required major military initiatives not experienced under Amenhotep III. Akhenaten himself had to supervise a significant amount of campaigning in the Levant, while more generally conditions deteriorated to the extent that, under Seti I and Ramses II (1306–1224 B.C.), Egypt and the expansive empire of the Anatolian Hittites were several times at war.<sup>4</sup>

In contrast, while the reign of Amenhotep III was a long one by Eighteenth Dynasty standards (thirty-eight years compared to the average of nineteen and a half), it seems atypically tranquil. Externally, military campaigning on a large scale was rare, although Amenhotep's initiatives in this regard have been unfairly minimized. Recent research has transformed a supposedly minor affray in Nubia (an opportunity for Amenhotep to "play the soldier in earnest")<sup>5</sup> into two campaigns of some substance.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, while Egypt's Levantine territories were relatively stable, Amenhotep dispatched forces there when needed.<sup>7</sup> However, firm control over Egyptian vassals and treaty relationships with other great powers (reinforced by interdynastic marriages and the exchange of prestigious gifts) sufficed to maintain the status quo.<sup>8</sup>

Within Egypt, political, social, and economic conditions appear tranquil.

3. On the later Eighteenth Dynasty, see Aldred (1975) 49–97. See also Redford (1984) part 4.

4. Redford (1992) 169–91; Murnane (1990).

5. Redford (1984) 38.

6. See "Amenhotep III and Nubia" in chap. 7 of this book.

7. Redford (1992) 170–71.

8. Redford (1992) 166–69; idem (1984) 39–42.

Dedicated officials enter and leave government in orderly fashion;<sup>9</sup> a vast building program focused on temples and palaces is undertaken and, for the most part, successfully achieved; and there are no indications of any undue stress within the general population. Again, as with foreign policy, the contrast with other reigns of the dynasty should not become too sharp. Egyptians as a whole typically appear as relatively well-off, according to their respective socioeconomic status, because we usually have little reliable information about the specifics of their lives and circumstances. As in other reigns, high officials were able to have large and richly decorated tombs made, as was essential for their successful afterlives; but some tombs were defaced, perhaps indicating disgrace and the enmity of the pharaoh.<sup>10</sup> And Amenhotep's much vaunted building program<sup>11</sup> appears less startling (although still impressive) when compared to those of some of his predecessors.

The comparison is difficult, for two reasons. First, some major constructions of earlier Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs were demolished to make way for Amenhotep's new buildings. For example, at Theban Karnak, the main temple of Amon-Ra (the imperial god of the dynasty), Amenhotep III was content to leave the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty structure largely intact, adding principally the massive Third Pylon (with approach colonnade) to the temple front and the Tenth Pylon to the series of pylons and courts making up the southern approach to Karnak. However, at Luxor, he demolished an earlier temple of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, which may have been quite substantial, and replaced it with an entirely new one.

Second, while some major monuments of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty survived the reign of Amenhotep III, they have not survived well into modern times or received the detailed archaeological exploration they require. Thus, the funerary temple of Thutmose III is today very denuded, but in its totality it covered an area not much smaller than the very impressive (and better preserved) funerary temple of Hatshepsut, allowing for the fact that the latter has an unusually elongated first court.<sup>12</sup>

Allowing for these difficulties of comparison, it is important to note that most major monuments of Amenhotep III are similar in scale to those of his predecessors.<sup>13</sup> Karnak temple proper, as developed by his predecessors (and

9. See chap. 6 of this book.

10. Redford (1984) 50.

11. See my subsequent discussion; chap. 3 of this book; and Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 73–124.

12. Ricke (1939). From the first ramp onward, the two temples occupy respectively 1.4 (Hatshepsut) and 1.2 (Thutmose III) hectares.

13. For the following data, consult Nims (1965); Baines and Malek (1980) 84 ff.



including the southern approach, but excluding the festival temple of Thutmose III), occupied over 3 hectares, and Amenhotep left most of it standing, his own additions being relatively modest additions to the total area. The festival temple of Thutmose III, attached to the east end of Karnak temple, covered about .32 hectares, while Hatshepsut's mortuary temple covers about 2 hectares. By comparison, Amenhotep's Luxor temple covers about .71 hectares, and his well-studied temple at Soleb in Nubia covers about .59 hectares (in both cases, the enclosed area around the temple is excluded from consideration).

Only one monument far exceeds the scale set by Amenhotep's predecessors (and largely followed by Amenhotep himself), namely, his funerary temple at western Thebes. The temple proper covered over 5 hectares (over twice the size of Hatshepsut's funerary temple), and the enclosed area surrounding it occupied as much as 37 hectares. Essentially, however, these circumstances are abnormal and invite special consideration (on the innovative aspects of this temple, see Baines's discussion in chapter 8 in this book).

The building program just described generated much inscriptional material, supplementing a larger group of texts primarily from temple and funerary contexts, which provide a great deal of information about the religious ideas and the royal ideology of the period. In addition, the expanding of old temples and the building of new ones implies a great interest in cult practices on the part of Amenhotep III and his advisors, as does the unusual emphasis placed on the celebration of Sed Festivals in the last decade of the reign. The Sed Festival was a very ancient and complex royal ceremonial, usually not celebrated until a pharaoh's thirtieth regnal year. Much about the Sed Festival remains obscure, but it has been accurately and succinctly described as "an act of rejuvenation on the part of the pharaoh," involving "the prominent use of coronation imagery."<sup>14</sup> As an individual, the usually elderly ruler involved was symbolically reinvigorated, while kingship, as an institution, was reaffirmed as the central institution of Egyptian life in a particularly impressive way.

These religious and royal texts of Amenhotep's reign (and, implicitly, the building program as well) provide much insight into the worldview of the time, although not a complete picture of that phenomenon. A society's worldview can be described as the model or even the vision shared by many, perhaps most, of its members as to how the cosmos came into being and now functions and about the place and the roles of humankind within the cosmic

process. By cosmic process I mean the complex ways in which the cosmos was imagined to operate so as to remain productive and stable.

Not surprisingly, historians studying Amenhotep III have tended to focus on the worldview of Egypt during his reign, since religion and ideology are well documented, on the one hand, and foreign and domestic affairs are so seemingly tranquil, on the other. Here too, in this chapter, I shall concentrate on that worldview and, in particular, on the ways in which it was manifest in the monumental built forms produced on Amenhotep's behalf.

Initially, however, two points need to be made. First, as in many cultures, the Egyptian worldview at any period was typically couched in religious terms—that is, in beliefs about a supernatural dimension of the cosmos—which generated specific kinds of relationships between deities and other supernatural beings, on the one hand, and humankind (living and deceased) and nature, on the other. But worldviews also have social and ethical dimensions. They visualize an ideal organization of society, which can range from the egalitarian to the highly unequal; and they promote specific sets of social values, which may find expression in hierarchies of status, prestige, power and income, or access to resources. Moreover, a society has a "moral constitution," which, reflecting consensus, strengthens cohesion, and which "responds to and lessens inequality" (a frequent if not inevitable feature of complex societies) "but . . . also legitimizes it."<sup>15</sup> These social and ethical aspects of a worldview, as much as the more specifically religious and ideological, can also find expression in built forms and in the varied activities these forms simultaneously house and shape.

Second, given a complex society like that of New Kingdom Egypt, we might reasonably ask whose worldview we are studying. The texts and sophisticated art forms that are our primary sources were produced, commissioned, and used by the elite, a small minority made up of the pharaoh, his family, and the upper echelons of the administrative, religious, and military institutions of the state. Given the elite's specific privileges, powers, and opportunities, might not their worldview have been substantially different from that of the Egyptian majority? Might the latter's worldview, in fact, have been directly opposed to the self-serving ideas about the cosmos and society promulgated by the elite?

These questions have no definitive answers. In a sense, they are irrelevant to my focus in this chapter, which is the meanings and roles of temples and royal palaces, typical products of the elite itself and hence expressions of

14. Redford (1984) 142; K. Martin (1984) 782–90.

15. Baines (1991) 161–62.



their worldview. Yet, the worldview of the majority and the degree to which it coincided with the elite's cannot be simply disregarded.

For one thing, elite monuments do have a public, extra-elite dimension that is sometimes explicitly, and probably always implicitly, of importance to the elite. Even if we put aside the more or less community-generated "private chapels"<sup>16</sup> (in actuality, small temples) that were probably common throughout New Kingdom Egypt, both royal capitals and major provincial towns housed substantial temples that were constructed and "run" by the state, that is, the elite. Yet these temples loomed large in the concerns of the surrounding community and even in the concerns of "pilgrims" from elsewhere.

Public access to such temples was limited, their inner roofed areas in particular being reserved for the pharaoh's surrogates, the priests of the cult and their attendants.<sup>17</sup> But frequently divine statues were carried forth and processed publicly through the surrounding city or town and even across the landscape of its rural hinterland, events that all could witness and participate in. And around such temples many manifestations of public cult occur: chapels at which petitioners could pray (some chapels stood directly behind the sanctuary of a temple, in which the chief image stood) and concentrations of votive shrines, stelae, or objects.<sup>18</sup>

Palaces were reserved for the pharaoh, not the gods, and undoubtedly included areas to which access was very limited, even for the elite. But palaces, too, often stood in urban settings, and they included courtyards in which the pharaoh presided over ceremonies that could involve much of the bureaucracy. Important acts within palaces often had an intended impact on the public,<sup>19</sup> and often the pharaoh himself would emerge from the palace and appear in public. He might lead religious processions, ride in a chariot at the head of his officials or troops, or sail in splendor up and down the Nile. In the New Kingdom, the pharaoh's public manifestations could be quite dramatic. Many kings personally fought in Egypt's foreign wars and displayed physical prowess in other ways. Amenhotep III slew fifty-five wild bulls in one day and killed, "through personal archery," over one hundred lions during a ten-year period.<sup>20</sup>

These linkages between state temples, royal palaces, and the people at large suggest that the worldview embodied in such monuments, and in the

rituals and ceremonies they housed or generated, had a substantial degree of significance for many Egyptians beyond the elite. Moreover, as Lanny Bell has recently emphasized in connection with the theory and practice of divine kingship in Egypt, it seems likely that the fundamental components of the elite worldview, components that survived for millennia, were durable and powerful precisely because they drew on beliefs held by all Egyptians.<sup>21</sup> No doubt, elite versions of these beliefs might be especially elaborate and sophisticated, but if the same fundamental worldview was shared by elite and majority alike, then the analysis of this aspect of Amenhotep's monuments provides some insight into society at large.

### The Elite Worldview in the Reign of Amenhotep III

Recent scholarship detects in the worldview of Egypt's elite in the reign of Amenhotep III a sense of tension, inner discordance, and impending crisis. However, Egyptologists interpret these circumstances in two different ways. For some, the evolving and changing worldview of Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt, including that version of it found under Amenhotep III, is primarily a response to the political life and experiences of the elite and especially of the pharaoh. For others, the evolving worldview is a product of theological speculation and changing beliefs, to which the political situation responds. For the first approach, recent discussions by Donald Redford and Rolf Gundlach provide good examples; for the second, good examples include the work of Jan Assmann and, from another perspective, the discussion of Raymond Johnson in chapter 3 in this book.

It is not my purpose here to choose one of the four interpretations of the elite worldview under Amenhotep III outlined in this chapter or to choose between them and others presented elsewhere.<sup>22</sup> Rather, they provide us insight into the intermingled issues of religion, politics, economics, and society as they presented themselves at this time: these issues comprise an essential context for a study of built forms and worldview during this reign. Moreover, the four approaches, with their differences in emphasis and nuance, illustrate well how interpretations can differ, even when dealing with the same basic data in each case.

For Redford,<sup>23</sup> Amenhotep III, like his predecessors, faced a serious and historically specific problem, essentially political despite its ideological aspects. In part, the problem was long-term in development and effect, in that

16. Bomann (1991), esp. 57-80.

17. Quirke (1992) 75-81; Arnold (1992) 29-32.

18. Baines (1991) 172-86.

19. O'Connor (1995) 267-68.

20. Redford (1984) 37-38; Berman in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 67-72.

21. Bell (forthcoming). Referred to by the kind permission of Lanny Bell.

22. E.g., Aldred (1988) chap. 15.

23. Redford (1995) 157-84.



by this time the pharaoh had to play three roles: he was simultaneously an embodied god on earth (Horus, son of Osiris and descendant of the sun god); the plenipotentiary or delegate of the sun god as cosmic ruler, placed on earth to govern humankind on the sun god's behalf; and finally the archetypal strongman, far superior in intelligence, guile, strength, and ruthlessness to all others, hence entitled to rule. These three roles, Redford suggests, were "difficult to maintain and virtually impossible to bring together,"<sup>24</sup> a general problem exacerbated for Eighteenth Dynasty rulers by specific historical circumstances.

Paradoxically, to maintain power within the elite, these pharaohs had to seek simultaneously divine legitimization and public support. By becoming successful warlords and political leaders, these rulers feared that inevitable failures of thought or deed would diminish their authority within the elite. The latter was, moreover, threatening because of a new system of state organization. Officials were able to act more independently of the pharaoh than before, and temple establishments and the army had the capacity to rival the ruler in influence. These dangers could be eased if the elite was persuaded that the gods (in whom all believed) had allotted the pharaoh supreme power and unique attributes, and that the people as a whole enthusiastically supported the pharaoh both as person and as ruler.

Thus, Redford suggests, "the king must invent or develop unusual roles to maintain himself in the scheme of things."<sup>25</sup> From time to time, the miraculous birth of the pharaoh (procreated directly by Amon-Ra, the imperial god, himself) was proclaimed. Hatshepsut and Thutmose promoted the concept of Amon as juridical oracle, specifically identifying the new pharaoh in a setting that secured "public approbation." And finally Amenhotep III sought to "rehabilitate the role of divine king" by "affirming his position in the cult." Temple restoration and refurbishing divine service were "the cardinal goals of his reign," and he also promoted the systematic production of new divine images and cult objects and engaged in spectacular celebrations of the Sed Festival so as to bring "gods and commoners together" under the aegis of the kingship of Horus.<sup>26</sup>

Gundlach<sup>27</sup> argues that during the reign of Amenhotep III there was a culmination of a complex mixture of religious and political developments, all problematic for the authority and power of the pharaoh. On the religious side, there was a "kulturellen Krise." Traditionally, solar religion had permit-

24. Ibid. 161.

25. Ibid. 173.

26. Ibid. 174-75.

27. Gundlach (1992) 23-50.

ted the ruler to claim a unique mediatory role between gods and humankind, but as the empire expanded, the sun god seemed ever more powerful yet also closer to humans, via a new religious movement, "personal piety," which provided humans direct access to the sun god. The religious, and ultimately the political, authority of kingship was placed in question.

On the political side, Gundlach suggests an ongoing tension between an aggressively expansionist imperial policy favored by the pharaoh and the army, on the one hand, and, on the other, an adherence to more isolationist values, combined with a dangerous interest in theological speculation, on the part of the civil bureaucracy. This infected kingship itself, in that Hatshepsut, favoring the latter, forced a coregulation with her junior, Thutmose III, to curb his imperialistic ambitions. This bizarre situation must have contributed to a long-term weakening of royal prestige that ultimately led to Akhenaten's radical reforms, essentially an initiative intended to restrengthen royal power.

Thutmose III and his two successors favored militaristic imperialism, but internal developments inimical to royal power continued. Thutmose IV, for example—the last of the three—seemingly felt threatened by the increasing influence of the Amon-Ra establishment of Thebes, for he secured legitimization of his rule through an oracle delivered via another form of the sun god (the Sphinx at Memphis), a stratagem perhaps supported by the army. His son, Amenhotep III, preferred to emphasize the divinity, rather than the legitimacy, of kingship (while of course claiming legitimacy as well), in a variety of ways; "vor allem dingen mit einem immensen Tempelbauprogramm" intended to expand the cultic linkage between Egypt and the gods and thus reemphasize the king's role as unique mediator between the two. Unfortunately, he neglected to control the vigorous discussion about solar theology engrossing many of the elite—a process that tended, as noted earlier, to work against royal power—so his son and successor Akhenaten felt that radical religious and political reform was required to restore royal power to the full.

Raymond Johnson, in contrast to the two discussions just summarized, advances some challenging ideas that are couched entirely in terms of religious and cultic developments, as if these have primacy over political and social factors in shaping the course of events.<sup>28</sup> He does suggest that one purpose of Amenhotep's building program was to transform all Egypt "into an imperial showplace befitting Egypt's role as the center of the cosmopolitan world," a notion that evidently relates to the political reality of Egypt's

28. See chap. 3 of this book.



imperial system and its interconnections with the other great powers of the day. However, Johnson prefers to stress the idea that building monuments and making innovations in cult were primarily intended to prepare for a major religious event. This event coincided with, and was made possible by, the first celebration of the Sed Festival in regnal year 30, and it consisted of the official transformation of Amenhotep III into "a living manifestation of the sun god and all of Egypt's gods."

Johnson goes on to suggest that Amenhotep III and his son Amenhotep IV, later Akhenaten, were coregents for a period, and that the living Aten, or solar disk—the focus of Akhenaten's devotion—was actually the deified, but initially still living, Amenhotep III. Amenhotep III continued on as the senior and controlling member of the corulership for about ten years, and "the Aten cult, until fairly late in Akhenaten's reign [i.e., until the older Amenhotep's death] was only one cult among many, an exclusively royal cult founded solely for the veneration and perpetuation of the deified king as the sun disk . . . by the royal family and the court."

The several scholarly approaches I have just summarized make it clear that the elite worldview during the reign of Amenhotep III can only be understood in the context of the religious and political history of the Eighteenth Dynasty as a whole, prior to the reign of Amenhotep IV or Akhenaten. For this, however, the most comprehensive and thoughtful analysis available is that of Jan Assmann, whose ideas provide the substance for the remainder of this section of my chapter.<sup>29</sup> An especially important aspect of Assmann's approach is that while he recognizes the significance of political, social, and economic factors in shaping the worldview and its products, he nevertheless argues that the fundamental dynamics involved were religious. Changes in religious ideas and practices created, in Assmann's view, problems of belief and ideology that the elite felt compelled to solve, their efforts to do so having a major impact in the population as a whole.

To Assmann, the religious situation in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt was complex and full of dissonance and tension (see also Baines's important discussion in chapter 8 in this book). As he presents the situation, three powerful, yet different and inherently competitive, streams of religious development coexisted. First, traditional religion focused on recurrent constellations of divine beings, gods and goddesses interacting in eternally recycled relationships that form the substance and process of the cosmos and that also guarantee Egypt's survival as a society. Second, a complex of beliefs and rituals clustered around a newly emergent and extremely powerful deity,

29. Assmann (1984) 221–57; see also *idem* (1983a, 1995).

the Theban god Amon-Ra. In part complementary to traditional religion, this complex also introduced a new, disturbing element, a god—Amon-Ra—who interested himself directly in the life of society and individuals in unprecedented ways. Finally, and less easily reconcilable with either of the other two streams of development, was what Assmann calls the "new solar theology," which presents the image of an at least potentially demythologized cosmos, controlled by a single, remote deity, embodied in the sun and its cyclically repeated movements. For Assmann, this last stream represented a real cognitive breakthrough, almost Copernican in its equivalence, which thereafter dominated all religious developments of the New Kingdom. More specifically, it was also the basis for Akhenaten's religious innovations or radicalizations, which themselves formed "less a monotheistic religion and more a philosophy of nature, more akin to Thales than to Moses."<sup>30</sup>

Assmann argues that the emergence of this religious complexity and tension in Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt was due, fundamentally, to theological developments, albeit ones naturally influenced by changing historical circumstances. "Implicit" theology was that which had produced, and was itself reinforced by, traditional Egyptian religion. But since the Middle Kingdom a new kind of "explicit" theology had developed, and from this there arose, in the New Kingdom, both a new kind of god (Amon-Ra) and a new kind of solar religion.

As presented by Assmann, implicit theology was focused on the here and now, the ongoing life and reproduction of the cosmos. Although within these processes the sun god had a kind of primacy, equally important were the other deities and their "constellative" interactions with him and each other in a series of living and successive icons embodying the cyclical processes that sustained the cosmos. In implicit theology, the interaction between the community and the gods (rather than between an individual and specific deities) was important; and this interaction was mediated through cosmos, temple, and sacred text. Cosmic phenomena were manifestations of the "constellations" of deities referred to earlier; temples provided deities with shelters on earth, where they received the services expected from humankind; sacred writings, the basis of temple and funerary ritual (and requiring use and exegesis by specialists) described the natures and activities of deities, thus explaining the roles of cosmos and temple. Within this system of belief, the Egyptian king played a unique mediatory role between the divine and the human, which I shall return to later.

Explicit theology took up issues left unexplored by implicit theology, but

30. Assmann (1984) 248–49; translation by author.



ones that have naturally occurred in many religions. If implicit theology was concerned with the deities, explicit theology was concerned more with "god," a singularly powerful being that had generated the cosmos and the deities that formed its substance. Much more than implicit theology, explicit theology was concerned with the birth of the cosmos and its ultimate end, as well as with the intentions and desires of a deity who was both creator and "lord of all," ultimately responsible for the cosmos and its apparent contradictions—good and evil, benevolence and cruelty. Ultimately, Assmann suggests, explicit theology will lead in directions contradictory to those of implicit theology, and it created tensions and conceptual fissures threatening to the stability of the Egyptian worldview.

The three streams of religious development generated variously by the two theologies had reached full complexity by the reign of Amenhotep III. Traditional religion, of course, was omnipresent. All over Egypt, deities were venerated in their secluded temples, access to the more sacred areas of each temple being highly restricted. However, periodically the deities' images processed forth and interacted (in a still highly controlled, but more visible, fashion) with the community at large. Everywhere, the dead were buried and serviced with rituals and customs of very ancient origins, albeit ones that had undergone some change over time. In the royal capitals and some other cities (Thebes, Memphis, Heliopolis), pharaohs and elite interacted in ceremonials that presented in coherent form a theory or system—based on ideas often developed early in Egyptian history—of kingship and governance and of social order and elite legitimization.

Cosmic maintenance was the great preoccupation of traditional religion, for the cosmos was marvelous but vulnerable. Envisaged as a kind of "bubble" of air and light within an otherwise unbroken infinity of dark waters,<sup>31</sup> the cosmos was held together by a divine order, personified as the goddess Maat, but continuously threatened by a chaotic force (Isfet) surrounding the cosmos and stretching to infinity.

Constellative collaboration ensured survival, triumph, and productivity. The other deities, as well as performing specific roles in the cosmos, collaborated with the sun god Ra, facilitating his rule over the cosmos—his cyclical pattern of rebirth, productivity, death, regeneration, and rebirth again (involving nightly reunion with Osiris, ruler of the netherworld and source of cosmic regeneration). Humankind's cultic attentions provided vital support to deities in their roles as producers and defenders of the cosmos, and such attentions also promoted the deities' sustaining of the well-being of human-

31. Allen (1988) 7.

kind and nature. In addition, humans (that is, Egyptians) also recognized a "moral system," sanctioned by the deities, which held together their society—a set of ethical and customary obligations that both asserted and mitigated inequality.<sup>32</sup>

The pharaoh had a unique role in traditional religion and ethics. He represented and, to an imprecisely defined degree, embodied the deities, especially the sun god, on earth; he was Ra's son, and Horus, son of Osiris and heir to world rule. The pharaoh was required to establish and maintain Maat, or cosmic order, and to repel or subdue Isfet, or chaotic force, in the terrestrial realm of the cosmos. Chief ritualist for all deities, the king was in particular cultically involved in the sun god's sometimes dangerous, but ultimately always triumphant, cycle around the cosmos, on which the latter's well-being and renewal depended. More specifically, the pharaoh had to bring justice to humans, governing Egypt wisely but with absolute power, and quelling with overwhelming force the potentially chaotic foreigners surrounding Egypt. He serviced the deities' cults by building, equipping, and supporting temples, as well as, theoretically, performing the cult in all. He was also responsible for the cult of the dead, ensuring that ancestral *kas*, or life forces, survived to embody themselves in new generations of the living and to ensure the reproduction of Egyptian society.<sup>33</sup>

During the Eighteenth Dynasty the pharaoh and elite were also much involved in promoting the cult of a god who in important ways was nontraditional and even disturbing. Amon was an ancient, if not very conspicuous, god. In the Middle Kingdom his cult was established at Thebes, home of the powerful Twelfth Dynasty (1991–1783 B.C.) and later of the Seventeenth (1640–1550 B.C.), which began a war of liberation against the Canaanite rulers who occupied northern Egypt at that time. This process was completed by the Eighteenth Dynasty, also Theban, which thereafter rapidly built up a centralized state and an extensive empire in Canaan and Nubia. As its dynastic god, Amon, at the divine level, also became a world ruler (in a more specific sense than any god before) and the "king of the gods." However, syncretized with the sun god Ra, Amon-Ra also became—in Assmann's view—a perfect vehicle for the rapidly developing ideas and interests of explicit theology, growing more elaborate and adventurous as a fully professionalized priesthood emerged.

This priesthood discovered in Amon-Ra, and displayed via a kind of "additive theology," qualities that responded to the special interests of ex-

32. Baines (1991) 162.

33. See Assmann (1970); idem (1989) 55–88; Bell (forthcoming).



PLICIT theology, with its focus on beginnings and ends and on the possibility of a uniquely powerful and ethically responsive divine being. Amon-Ra becomes a primeval power preceding the cosmos and becomes then the creator, and subsequently the ruler, of the cosmos. Since his power is creative and universal, he also becomes identified with the sun god, but he is not a distant, remote being. He intended the cosmos to be, and he spoke the words that brought it into existence, words that became embodied as the deities who form and maintain the cosmos, ultimately emanations of Amon-Ra himself. Through them, Amon-Ra is the life god on whom the cosmos and the deities depend, and who manifests himself through speech, the Nile inundation, and sunlight, all transmitters of life. Moreover, Amon-Ra is directly concerned in the well-being of the cosmos, including humankind, for whom he is the "good shepherd." Specifically, he guarantees and maintains the moral system of society, which recognizes inequality but promotes equity and fair dealing, and which legislates against arbitrary treatment of the weak and the poor. Ultimately, all Egyptians face judgment after death, in terms of moral value as much as ritual purity and cultic correctness.

Thus far, Amon-Ra might be seen as a productive development from traditional religion, but he was, Assmann thinks, a disturbing deity also. Unlike traditional gods, Amon-Ra was driven to intervene directly and personally into history and society. He explicitly identified the future ruler and ratified his accession; he issued specific orders to the ruler, about activities of substantial interest to the state (such as military campaigns or trading expeditions); and he and the ruler engaged in antiphonal exchanges, in which Amon-Ra's desires and intentions were made explicit, as was the ruler's obedient response to them. Moreover, Amon-Ra desired his interventions, his "wonders," to be visible to all, to have a public dimension that would make clear to all Egyptians his intentions and the solicitude that underlay them.

Early Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs, who themselves believed in these new developments, enthusiastically promoted these special aspects of the Amon-Ra cult. From the coreigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III onward, they celebrated Amon-Ra's typical characteristics in both spoken and written form and promoted the role of the processional festival in making Amon-Ra's intentions manifest. Amon-Ra's nature actually made him less accessible via the traditional modes of cosmos, temple, and sacred text. Rather, as an activist deity, he existed within humans' hearts, that is, their intelligence and emotions; thus, he was intelligible not only to the community but to the individual, and he had specific intentions for each individual as much as for

the community as a whole. But to provide the necessary contact, Amon-Ra had to process forth from the temple (a traditional mode) and deliver "oracles," public statements of intent (a radical innovation), especially, in the Eighteenth Dynasty, as far as the pharaoh and his governance, and what it meant to individuals, were conceived.<sup>34</sup> Later, "oracles" of Amon-Ra and other deities (his delegates) would become of direct value to individuals in terms of their personal concerns.

Such oracular occasions were also valuable contexts for asserting the legitimacy of the ruler. Thus, for reasons of belief and manipulation, temple and urban layouts at Thebes were transformed to provide appropriate settings for procession and display. Moreover, Assmann suggests, the Theban Opet Festival—in essence, a ritual providing regeneration for Amon-Ra and the living ruler via the *kas* or life forces of divine and earthly kingship—became a national event, attracting many pilgrims to Thebes and providing them, through its public aspects, access to divinity not known by earlier Egyptians.

Yet, asks Assmann, were those developments, promoted by the pharaohs, not also dangerous to them? First, the pharaohs' subordination to a higher power (long recognized ideologically) became much more public to both elite and others than was the case before. And second, might not individuals now seek direct access to the divine, to the powerful, justice-bringing, interventionary deity, rather than relying on the traditional mediation of the pharaoh?

Problematic for both traditional religion and the cult of Amon-Ra was the third stream of development, the "new solar theology," "a religious 'phenomenology' derived from the visible manifestations of divine activity."<sup>35</sup> This manifestation is the actual solar cycle, as seen by humankind from their terrestrial point of view, a perspective that establishes that the sun god, visible because of the light he emanates, operates alone (without the collaboration of other deities) and far from earth. His nature is mysterious, but his intentions are clear. The light he emits reveals his presence, renders the world visible and hence existent, and establishes the sun god as the sole source of life. Light is the breath of life, irradiating all creation, even embryos in the womb. Movement, regular, cyclical, and rapid, is also typical of the sun god, as he ascends, floats above, then descends, recommencing his cycle after mysteriously renewing himself during the night. This movement documents

34. Assmann (1984) 239.

35. Ibid. 239; see also chap. 8 in this book.



the perpetual re-procreation of the god himself but is also the source of time, of the transitory as well as the eternal, of the life spans of all living creatures, during which each individual's destiny and fate on earth unfolds.<sup>36</sup>

The implications of the "new solar theology" were potentially radical. First, although the traditional deities continued to exist, they were no longer prime movers of the cosmic process (even as, ultimately, emanations or embodiments of Amon-Ra); instead, they were, alongside humanity and nature, venerated of the solar mysteries of re-creation and life giving. Moreover, solar theology, in this form, was not easily reconcilable with the "religion" of Amon-Ra, so firmly wedded to the manifestations, purposeful and intrusive, of a supreme being on earth. Finally, the sun god had the potential for becoming *the* god, a unique being controlling the world from afar while the other deities fade into insignificance and disappear.

Assmann suggests it was precisely these radical possibilities that Akhenaten seized, by creating or founding literally a new religion, a monotheism focused entirely on a deity that manifested itself in light. Traditional cults were abolished, and that of Amon-Ra was literally erased (his name removed from thousands of inscriptions all over Egypt); complex, pantheistic totality was replaced by a single "constellation," a triad of sunlight, pharaoh, and queen, the manifestations of the new divinity (itself unknowable) that were visible to humankind and nature.

Akhenaten's motivation was surely complex. It included genuine belief, a further working out of existing theological discourse, and was one way of resolving the contradictions and tensions Assmann believes had developed within the Egyptian belief system. There was also a political and social dimension; the elimination of Amon-Ra, who, in many ways is replaced by Akhenaten himself, restored the pharaoh's traditionally unique role as mediator between the divine and humanity and also diminished the sense of direct, individual access to the sacred. Humans no longer sensed Amon-Ra's presence "in their heart" but rather heard the king's teaching, which emphasized—as in traditional religion—the community rather than the individual response to the manifestation of divinity within the cosmos. In this perspective, monotheism was a reassertion of royal power and the king's ideological primacy, as well as a radicalization (ultimately undesirable as far as the Egyptians were concerned) of solar theology.

At this point, a few general observations might be useful. First, those interpretations that emphasize particular political circumstances and rather specific motivations on the part of the pharaoh and elite are relying on

36. Assmann (1984) 239.

evidence that provides little reliability. What survive to us from the reign of Amenhotep III are, for the most part, texts illustrative of temple and funerary religion and political ideology, but there are no memoirs, correspondences, or archives (the Amarna Letters excepted) that provide direct information on specific political events, policies, and intentions. Thus, Gundlach suggests the worldview was shaped in part by rival policies pursued by traditionalistic, theology-oriented bureaucrats, on the one hand, and by a militaristic and imperialistic group, on the other; but the evidence for either is very slight. Moreover, it might also be said that despite the relative abundance of information on Amarna religion, it is still quite difficult to reconstruct Akhenaten's personal motivations, as Assmann attempts to do.

Second, the study of trends, especially in religion and theology (well-documented topics) is a stronger method for analyzing the changing worldview—and indeed all four commentators summarized earlier do consider, to varying degrees, such trends. One feels also particular sympathy for Assmann's approach, which is sensitive to the great complexity of the developments and intentions involved, and which recognizes that while religious belief is inevitably related to political maneuvering and elite manipulation, it is also a viable entity in its own right.

This said, two remarks are important about Assmann's powerful discussion in particular. First, it may be unduly "historicized." For example, for him, the emergence of a new emphasis on processional festivals and architectural contexts appropriate for them and on oracular decisions issued by Amon-Ra are a product of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, and later rulers. But in reality our knowledge of pre-New Kingdom festival processions (of which there was an important Middle Kingdom version at Abydos)<sup>37</sup> and even our knowledge of oracles is limited because the potentially relevant evidence is so rare. That evidence is specifically inscriptions from temples, for the most part; and pre-New Kingdom temples (as distinct from tombs) have received little archaeological attention and are nowhere near as well preserved as some New Kingdom temples. Moreover, one must allow for the inhibiting effect of "decorum," rules restricting what could be represented in text and art:<sup>38</sup> some seemingly New Kingdom religious practices and attitudes may well have been important earlier but not referred to directly in inscriptions or art.<sup>39</sup>

A second point concerns the tension, dissonance, and potential conflict Assmann identifies within the worldview of Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt prior

37. Stadelmann (1982) 1160–64; Griffiths (1982) 276–77.

38. See Baines (1985b) 277–305.

39. See, e.g., Sorenson (1987) 109–26; Baines (1991) 175–76.



to Akhenaten's reign (on these, see also Baines's discussion in chapter 8 in this book). While not denying what to us seem logical contradictions, we must remember that these might not have seemed so to the Egyptians, for whom—some suggest—a different kind of logic was operative.<sup>40</sup> In any case, the issues may have seemed less clear-cut, and the Egyptians may simply have assumed that the different attitudes to the divine (analyzed with subtlety and power by Assmann) *could* be reconciled. Akhenaten's reign can of course be cited as a time when tension and dissonance were reaching critical levels, but it is possible that factors peculiar to Akhenaten himself or specific historical circumstances were more significant than an actual crisis.

### Transforming the Nation

Turning now to the issue of the relationship between built forms and the elite worldview under Amenhotep III, we should first take up a recent, bold suggestion. Noting that a number of temples throughout Egypt and Nubia were newly built or substantially renovated under Amenhotep III, Kozloff and Bryan suggest: "this king's apparent campaign of splendor was not merely a real estate development. Rather . . . it was the concrete realization of his view of cosmos—with himself at the center representing three major aspects of the sun-god Amon-Re."<sup>41</sup> Subsequently, Bryan identifies the building program evident throughout Egypt as "an ideological program of construction," the pharaoh building "temples to associate himself as king with solar deities in an array of locations and aspects."<sup>42</sup> While Thebes, the southern royal center of Egypt, might have been the primary recipient of this policy, some eighteen other sites affected by it can be cited, extending from Bubastis and Athribis in the Delta to Soleb and Sedeinga in Nubia.<sup>43</sup>

Put more specifically, the reasoning underlying this proposal would seem to run as follows. Amenhotep III, either from the outset or from some point relatively early within his reign, conceived the idea of linking at least some geographically widely scattered cults together in a programmatic way that connected them both to solar mythology and to the pharaoh, who had a unique relationship to the sun god. To some extent, this process was quite carefully structured, on a national scale, so the cults in question linked spe-

40. Hornung (1982a) 237–43.

41. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 5. Relevant here, and also to the discussion of the Theban monuments (below), is Gundlach's (1994) interesting paper.

42. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 76.

43. Ibid. 73–120; chap. 2 of this book; also Pamminger (1993) 83–92.

cific aspects of solar mythology (which expressed key processes within the cosmos) to the map of the Egyptian Nile Valley (including the controlled part of Nubia). Thus, on the terrestrial plane, solarized cosmic process would be both mirrored and interactively supported. Not coincidentally, this program would also much increase the legitimacy, authority, and actual political power of the pharaoh. It demonstrated or revealed an increasingly close relationship—virtually an identification—between the ruler and the deities; it also, in a rawer sense, dramatically illustrated the king's enormous control over the population and the resources available to Egypt, both within Egypt and elsewhere. Thus, it combined altruism and belief (activity beneficial to the cosmos), on the one hand, and, on the other, propaganda, the manipulation—at different levels, and in different ways—of the opinions and emotions of the elite and of the population at large.

Since many of the temples and other cult buildings are demolished or largely unexcavated (with only a few blocks or some statuary extant), the way this program worked cannot be analyzed in detail. However, Bryan emphasizes the significance of five sites as especially revealing about this nationally oriented program.<sup>44</sup>

Thebes was especially an arena of monument building (partly, it is implied, because Memphis had received more attention from earlier Eighteenth Dynasty pharaohs, whose monuments would be harder to remove and left less free space to be filled). While some of the Theban monuments were begun relatively early in the reign (e.g., Luxor temple and the royal mortuary temple), most underwent major expansion during the last two decades of Amenhotep's life, largely in connection with the three Sed Festivals he celebrated at Thebes (in regnal years 30, 34, and 37). These festivals seem to have been long prepared for and can be seen as the culmination of the policy—described earlier—of promoting the divine aspects of the reigning pharaoh as much as those of the office he occupied. The net effect, Bryan suggests, was to provide environments that not only suited various cultic manifestations of Amon-Ra as creator, ruler, and sustainer of the cosmos but also served to identify the living pharaoh with these aspects of divinity.

These features of the Theban building program drew their effectiveness from a rich complexity of myths and concepts about cosmogony, the cosmos, and the cosmic process that relate also to those other building projects that expanded the implied cultic program to cover all Egypt. These other projects relate especially to ideas about the solar and lunar "eyes" (the disks of sun and moon, respectively), ideas that—like those relevant to Amon-Ra and the

44. Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 104–10.



pharaoh at Thebes—need to be examined in their broader cosmological context.<sup>45</sup>

The most important and influential myths about the cosmos, in the New Kingdom, combined and interwove the consequences of two notions. Cosmogony—the birth of the cosmos—and the cosmos itself depended first on repeated regenerations of an androgynous creator, combining within itself sexually potent and fertile elements, and second on sexual interaction and subsequent reproduction within a lineage of deities, who variously correspond to the chief elements, and hence processes, of the cosmos. The two notions are not only equivalent but mutually interactive, each generating the other.

Thus, Atum the creator generated himself but also gave birth to Shu and Tefnut, together the void that created a space for the cosmos within the endless and corrosive liquidity, or Nun, that completely filled preexistence. The pair had two children, Geb and Nut, equivalent to earth and sky, the lower and upper surfaces of the void. These processes provided an arena for the appearance of a new, self-generated form of Atum, Ra the sun god, who is also Atum in his Disk.

Inert but potent, the cosmos was saturated with energizing sunlight as a result of this first sunrise and filled with life, with the deities, humans, and world of nature that comprise the rest of the cosmos. The result was a perfect cosmos: Ra the creator, or Atum in his Disk, dwelt within his creation, intimately interacting with his creatures, divine, human, and natural, while the divine lineage he generated continued on as the actual rulers of the cosmos, embodiments of Ra's benevolence and wisdom. The power of rulership itself took on the form of a great falcon deity, Horus, or "the Distant One," hovering over the cosmos; and he and Ra fused into the being Ra-Horakhty, Ra as Horus of the Horizons, that is, the eastern and western edges of the world, where Ra—ascending, then descending—was closest to the terrestrial plane of the cosmos.

But the free will allotted humans and deities permitted rebellion and conflict to enter and fracture this perfect cosmos, and a chaotic phase ensued. Humans mistook Ra's transformation into almost an icon of divinity for impotence, rebelled, and incurred his wrath. He determined on their destruction, relented, but withdrew into heaven with the deities he created. Thenceforth, humans had to strive to placate deities with images and temples, and their contact with the divine became limited and highly structured.

45. On Egyptian cosmogony and the Egyptian cosmos generally, see Allen (1988); Lesko (1991) 88–122; Hornung (1992) chaps. 2, 3, 5–7. On the solar and lunar eyes, see Bonnet (1952) 472–74 (Mondauge), 733–35 (Sonnenauge). See also Troy (1986) 12–20.

During this chaotic period, conflict erupted among the deities themselves. Osiris, heir of Atum and Ra, ruled the perfect cosmos, the harmonious interpenetration of deities and humans, but was murdered by his envious brother Seth. Nevertheless, Osiris succeeded in posthumously siring a son, called Horus, who defeated Seth and was recognized as Osiris' heir to rulership, but now of the "Two Lands," that is, Egypt and the terrestrial plane. Just as Ra retreated into heaven, Osiris sank into Duat, the other—or nether—world, there to become ruler of the dead and the regenerative source for all deities and humans as they experience death, regeneration, and rebirth.

Thus, although the chaotic phase ended in the restoration of cosmic harmony and order, the perfect cosmos was replaced by an actual cosmos, a different entity inhabited by the Egyptians. Actual cosmos lost the earlier interpenetration of heaven, earth, and netherworld and was continually threatened with annihilation by the surrounding Nun in its capacity as Isfet, or chaos. Thus, the cosmos had to perpetually reenact the processes of cosmogony, chaotic interlude, and restoration of order if it was to survive.

Far above humans, living and (entombed) dead, Ra carried out an endless solar cycle ensuring the cosmos's survival—rising to renew the cosmos, setting to regenerate via union with Osiris in Duat, and then returning, creating the cosmos yet again. Deities and the beatified dead were part of this cycle, finding therein individual regeneration and abundant sustenance, and forming a further guarantee of the renewal of the cosmos, of which they were vital elements. Simultaneously, the drama of Osiris's death, posthumous potency, and own regeneration as a result of the conflict between Horus and Seth endlessly repeats itself, so the regeneration of all the cosmos will ensue.

For humans, the occupants of the terrestrial plane, these cosmological processes were accessible only through visible phenomena in the celestial and natural worlds and through the highly structured religious system, which in theory restricted full knowledge of the divine and its operations to the pharaoh, the ruler of Egypt and the world. Humans could engage in theological speculation and mythical recitations; they could engage in cult at various levels, as embodiments of the ruler, in theory the sole ritualist; and their direct access to the divine was perhaps greater than is often thought.<sup>46</sup> Yet ultimately only pharaoh could interact fully with the divine, and then only with the variability imposed by his complex nature as a human occupying a divine office, hence sometimes seemingly divine in character and abilities, sometimes dependent and fallible.

46. Baines (1991) 123ff.; idem (1987) 79–98.



The pharaoh was assigned absolute power over humans, potentially capable of repeating the rebellion against divine order in which they had once engaged. Kingship itself was visualized as a divine institution, even as a special *ka*, or life force, that would inhabit the body and being of each individual occupant of the kingship. The ruler's awesome, yet ultimately dependent, powers were also made plain. While Horus, the falcon embodiment of power, floated over the cosmos, the pharaoh was his manifestation on earth, Horus of the palace and simultaneously also Horus son of Osiris, the legitimate ruler of the two lands of Egypt. While Ra endlessly repeated his regenerative cycle around the cosmos and ruled it from heaven, the pharaoh was the son of Ra, Ra's successor in the rulership of the terrestrial plane. As Ra's chief priest, the pharaoh also participated via cult in the successful performance of the solar cycle and in the endless repulse of its many powerful enemies.<sup>47</sup>

Within these cosmological processes, the disks of the sun and moon, the solar and the lunar "eyes," had important and specific roles to play, roles that correlated with their visible behavior as celestial phenomena witnessed by the Egyptians.<sup>48</sup> Similar in important ways, but different in others, the sun and the moon acquired a complex interrelationship in the world of myth and in the cultic practices reflecting these beliefs.

Sun disk and moon disk were circular, brightly shining, celestially located, and interrelated in movement. Sometimes they even appeared in the sky together; more often they seemed to be predecessor (moon) and follower (sun) across the sky as it alternately darkened into night or brightened into day. This pattern of similarity and dissimilarity was evident in other ways. The moon *was* the sun, but in its silvery night form, not the golden disk of day. Both were the eyes of Ra, Ra-Horakhty, and Horus the falcon god, but the sun always occupied the prestigious right position, the moon the subordinate left. Both experienced eclipse,<sup>49</sup> but otherwise the sun was always full, while the moon waxed and waned.

Not surprisingly, the specific mythical roles of both eyes also correlated yet differed; taken together, however, they expressed all the key processes of cosmogony, cosmic renewal, and cosmic process as described earlier. The sun was both celestial feature (*aten*, or solar disk) and deity (Ra), as was the moon as *iah* (lunar disk) and Thoth or Khonsu, the latter "the one who travels across." However, both solar and lunar eyes combined male and

47. On Egyptian kingship, see most recently O'Connor and Silverman (1995). See also Bonhême and Forgeau (1988); Posener (1960).

48. See n. 45 in this chapter.

49. Barton (1984) 1087.

female genders, for they were forms of the creator, an androgynous entity that was ensured generation and regeneration by its capacity to impregnate, conceive, and give birth to itself.<sup>50</sup> Thus, both eyes were crucial in cosmogony and cosmic regeneration; the moon, in addition, was linked to Osiris (himself solar in descent and in his interaction with the deceased Ra) and his capacity for self-generation.

Both the solar and lunar eyes also experienced separation from, then reunion with, the beings of which they were embodiments, experiences that had important cosmological implications. Thus, when Ra determined to exterminate humankind, his agent was the solar eye, its feminine aspect then preeminent; consumed with righteous aggression and for a time out of control, the solar eye ranged far to the south and eventually had to be pacified and returned to Ra, to prevent humankind's complete annihilation. The lunar eye was torn from both Horus the falcon-god and his alter-ego, Horus the son of Osiris, in their titanic battles with the chaotically aggressive Seth. The lunar eye was also conceived of as a free agent, departing Horus in both instances partly to overcome Seth's rebellion, partly so the mythically necessary separation and reunion could occur. Like the solar eye, the lunar eye moved south and had to be coaxed, even forced, to return. Moreover, the lunar eye had been injured and had to heal gradually before complete reunion, and hence renewed cosmic harmony, could be achieved. This healing process was visible in the gradual waxing of the moon, and the preceding injury could be seen in its waning and subsequent disappearance, that is, departure or removal.

These ideas about the sun and moon and about solar and lunar eyes are linked by Bryan to Amenhotep III's building program as manifest on a national scale.<sup>51</sup> In this context, she evokes the image of the pharaoh as Horus the falcon-god, its wings appearing to stretch up and down the Nile Valley and ending at the northern and southern extremes of Egypt and Nubia. At one extreme, Athribis in the Delta, Amenhotep apparently built a temple and transformed the local cult of the god Khenty-khety so he emerged as primarily "a falcon-headed sun deity equated with the healing eye of Horus." Amenhotep was also active at nearby Bubastis, home to Bastet, a goddess equated with the pacified form of the solar eye, which was able to return to its relationship with Ra and Horus. At the southern extreme, Amenhotep built two temples relatively close to each other, at Soleb and Sedeinga in Nubia. At Soleb, Bryan suggests, Amenhotep III is presented as a moon god

50. Troy (1986) 12–52.

51. Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 104–10.



and "has become one of the eyes of Horus, the lunar eye; while Amon-Ra of Karnak visits the temple as the solar eye"—the reference being to the two eyes that leave their owners, travel south, then eventually return to achieve reunion with Ra, Ra-Horakhty, Horus, and Horus son of Osiris, as appropriate. At Sedeinga, Amenhotep's consort, Tiye, was visualized as a deified form of the "angry eye of Ra that has fled Egypt for the south." At both Soleb and Sedeinga, pacificatory rituals transform each eye to its benevolent form, enabling them to return to their owners: thus, Amenhotep III and Tiye "might return the propitiated eyes of Ra to Egypt, thereby maintaining world order."

Bryan's notion of a nationally framed program of temple building and cult development, with very specific aims insofar as both cosmological beliefs and the enhancement of kingship are concerned, is both conceivable and stimulating, albeit also open to criticism. Before exploring its implications, its viability—both pro and con—requires brief discussion.

That a New Kingdom pharaoh should have a national perspective on a cult program is not in itself unlikely. Egyptian governance had long been accustomed to think in all-Egypt terms about, for example, the structure of provincial government, the collection of revenue, and oversight of the irrigation system; and this was probably particularly true of the relatively highly developed government of the New Kingdom. Indeed, major building projects themselves often had a national dimension: laborers were often mobilized over a wide area or even the whole country, and certain kinds of raw materials, especially stone, might literally be transported virtually from one end of the country to the other.

However, Bryan goes substantially further by suggesting that, to some degree, Egypt—at least under Amenhotep III—was being transformed into a cosmogram, that is, that the pharaoh was tracing out on the map of Egypt and Egyptian Nubia diagrams that reflected cosmic processes involving deities, the pharaoh, and his subjects. Generally, the exploration of built forms and even of towns and cities in Egypt as cosmograms (except, of course, for the temple) has not yet been highly developed,<sup>52</sup> although this is a concept that has been discussed substantially in cross-cultural terms that usually omit Egypt.<sup>53</sup> However, even in the comparative literature the notion of a cosmogram applied to an entire country, in terms of the intentional locating of its temples, settlements, or other built forms, seems to be rarely covered. Some exceptions include the identification of "ritual landscapes" on

52. On the cosmology of the Egyptian temple, see Baines (1976) 10–15; Hornung (1992) chap. 6. On that of royal tombs, see Hornung (1982b). On private tombs, see Kamrin (1992).

53. See recently Pearson and Richards (1994) 1–112.

a regional basis in early Britain;<sup>54</sup> the notion that built features distributed over a relatively large area (the Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, about 14.50 kilometers long) "expressed through their forms and placement in space a particular worldview, an ideational system that . . . embodied for prehistoric Chacoans their most general concepts of order";<sup>55</sup> and the identification of symbolically ordered space over "vast expanses of the Andean landscape on the regional level."<sup>56</sup>

More directly relevant is Hyslop's study of Inka "administrative settlements," distributed throughout some three million square kilometers of an Inka-controlled empire and intentionally interspersed among much greater numbers of traditional settlements inhabited by non-Inka peoples.<sup>57</sup> These administrative settlements also had a major symbolic aspect: they represented "mythical space. . . . Inka social, religious, and political concepts developed in Cuzco [the Inka capital] are spread to diverse parts of the state via the design and specific features of the larger state settlements" and hence become a means of indoctrinating "a vast subject population" that visits them.<sup>58</sup> This indoctrination included learning "much about how Inkas viewed their own social structure, the organization of their state, and their relationship to the environment and the cosmos."<sup>59</sup> Although the situations are only very approximately analogous, Hyslop's model of how Inka administrative settlements functioned provides a rough parallel for the situation in Egypt suggested by Bryan with regard to temples of Amenhotep III.

On the negative side, however, one must note that, because of the slight research so far carried out, suggestions about the cosmology of Egyptian built forms and of the regional and even national patterns they might form must inevitably be highly tentative. Moreover, in the case of Amenhotep III particularly, the known distribution of his temples may of course omit as yet undiscovered monuments in other parts of Egypt. Their addition to the relevant map might lead us to modify or even abandon suggestions based on the locations and functions of those temples known up to this point.

Even with these caveats in mind, building on Bryan's suggestions leads to some further observations of interest. As figure 5.1 illustrates, a map of Egypt and Nubia as defined by Amenhotep's monuments can be correlated

54. Fleming (1987) 188–202, esp. 197.

55. Fritz (1978) 37–59, esp. 41.

56. Netherby and Dillehay (1984) 85–114, esp. 90–91, 94–95.

57. Hyslop (1990). I owe this reference to Professor Clark Erickson of the University of Pennsylvania.

58. Hyslop (1990) 298, 305.

59. *Ibid.* 305.



with suggestive patterns of seasonal, astronomical, and mythical activity that might relate to the overall aims of Amenhotep's building and cultic program.

First, the locational patterning of the monuments throughout Egypt is suggestive. If Athribis/Bubastis and Soleb/Sedeinga are the map's northern and southern extremes, then Thebes is clearly its approximate—and in spatial terms, literal—center, as one might expect given the prominence it enjoyed under Amenhotep III and its symbolic role as the center of cults focused on Amon-Ra and the kingship. Moreover, other monuments seem intentionally placed at spatially intermediate, maybe even mediatory, locations. Thus temples at Hebenu and Hermopolis are about halfway between Athribis/Bubastis and Thebes, and a cluster of Nubian cult structures at Quban, Wadi es-Sebua, and maybe Aniba are similarly about halfway between Thebes and Soleb/Sedeinga. Is this locational patterning purely accidental?<sup>60</sup>

Other circumstances suggest intentionality. At the mythic level, the Athribis/Bubastis-Soleb/Sedeinga axis corresponds to the departure southward of the solar and lunar eyes, their pacification, and their ultimate return, with the deities of Athribis, Bubastis, Soleb, and Sedeinga (described earlier) corresponding to such an interpretation. Distributed in a spatially regular way along this axis are other cult centers that can be interpreted as mediators within this process. Quban and Aniba (?) temples were dedicated to Horus deities, predisposed to facilitate the reunion of both Ra and Horus with their eyes. Thebes was the home of Amon-Ra, a solar deity, and his son Khonsu, a moon god actually identified as a deity who brings the eyes back. Hermopolis was the cult center for Thoth, another mythic facilitator of the eyes' return, and Hebenu was dedicated to a falcon, that is, a solar deity, who—like Horus son of Osiris—was specifically associated with a victory over Seth and sought the return of the eyes.

Thebes also may have played a mediatory role in other ways. For example, it was cultically linked to Soleb/Sedeinga, on the one hand, and, on the other, if not to Athribis/Bubastis, at least to important northern centers like Memphis and Heliopolis. To the extent that Amenhotep III circulated between Memphis and Thebes to celebrate festivals at each, and—perhaps in the end only notionally—between Thebes and Soleb/Sedeinga, Thebes was also a place of intersection for two cycles of cultic activity, embracing respectively the northern and southern halves of Egypt and Nubia combined. The northern set, focused on the Theban Opet and Valley Festivals and involving Amon-Ra and a solarized ruler, were heavily solar in emphasis, but the

60. Some sites associated with Amenhotep III do not fit easily into the pattern suggested here: e.g. Abydos, Denderah, Armant, El-Kab, and Elephantine.

southern cycle, while solar in part, also manifested lunar elements—for example, in the lunar aspects of Amenhotep III and Khonsu, represented in both Thebes and Soleb. Thus, the mythology of the solar and lunar eyes is again evoked.

This nationally distributed system of cult structures and their mythic implications correlated also with major aspects of the celestial and seasonal cycles that could have been read, at one level, as manifestations of otherwise hidden but potent cosmic processes that directly involved the appropriate deities. The myths of the solar and lunar eyes traveling south fairly obviously correlate with the solstitial movements of the sun, which visibly travels south along the horizons between the summer (June) and winter (December) solstices and then returns north again, thus tracing out over a twelve-month period the mythical movements from Athribis/Bubastis to Soleb/Sedeinga and back to Athribis/Bubastis described earlier. This solstitial movement was probably more important to the Egyptians than is usually acknowledged.<sup>61</sup>

Thebes, centrally located, as indicated earlier, might then have approximately equated with the equinoxes—the central positions in the sun's cyclical movement—occurring in September and March. Moreover, Thebes also—as in the cultic terms discussed earlier—provides a point of intersection or marks a frontier between two different sets of phenomena of considerable symbolic weight, associated respectively with the northern and southern halves of the country.<sup>62</sup>

Thus, the north might be seen as particularly the realm of the solar eye, for—in annual terms—the sun is at its brightest, most intense levels during its traverse of the northern half of Egypt from June to September, then from March to June. Correspondingly, this is also a time of great warmth—even aridity, in the sense that the Nile is at its lowest level through March, April, and May. This is followed, in the hottest months, by the threatening, yet tremendously potent, Nile flood, at once seeming to dissolve Egypt into chaos, yet simultaneously bearing the germ of the abundant life that will follow it. That abundant life in fact also coincides with this period of the solar eye, for the grain harvest—the chief product of the inundation—runs roughly from March to June.

The southern half of Egypt (including Nubia) is more the realm of the lunar eye, or of a phase of the solar eye akin to the lunar. From September to March the sun itself is confined to this southern half and is characteristically dimmer than it is during March through September. Correspondingly, this is

61. See Leitz (1989) index, s.vv. "Sommersolstitium" and "Wintersolstitium."

62. On the seasonal/agricultural cycle in Egypt, see Butzer (1976) chap. 5.



a cooler period of the year and a time of seasonal gestation, as crops—especially grain crops—are sown, then emerge and mature through the long growing season, from January to March. These characteristics tend to emphasize the more female, even uterine aspects of the cosmos, while those of the northern half can be seen as more masculine and phallic, with increasingly intense sunlight (itself equated sometimes with semen) bringing grain to final maturity, followed by the fertilizing flood. Both northern and southern halves also have their Osirian characteristics, for Osiris is associated not only with the inundation (one of his major festivals was, at least theoretically, celebrated during the inundation)<sup>63</sup> but also with the period of gestation and growth, which perhaps relates more specifically to the inert, netherworld form of Osiris. During the period when the sun is confined to the southern half, for example, the Festival of Sokar, a major funerary god, is—again, at least notionally—celebrated.

Indeed, one might suggest an even more expansive analogy for the northern and southern solar realms, one that combines a key daily/nightly process with the annual process (the solstitial cycle) that has provided the basis for discussion thus far. The strongly solar northern half of Egypt and the associated half of the year might be seen as corresponding with the daily progress of the sun through heaven, across the upper void of the cosmos, while the more subdued, lunar-like half of Egypt and the half of the year associated with it may equate with the sun's nightly passage through Duat, its light dimmed as it forces its way through those cold depths to find union with Osiris, then regeneration (like the grain in the soil), and finally triumph through rebirth and reascension. This notion also implies that Thebes, at the geographical center of this process, might symbolically equate with earth, the terrestrial plane of the cosmos.

These speculations have taken us well beyond Bryan's stimulating observations, but they form, I think, a coherent whole that provides rich and multiple levels of meaning to the national dispositions of temples and cult places built by Amenhotep III. Of course, the patterns of meaning and symbolism involved were presumably valid and recognized long before and after Amenhotep's time, but it is possible that he highlighted and emphasized them in an unusual, maybe even unique, way.

How might these developments have related to the three streams of religious ideology and practice—sketched in the preceding section of this chapter—characteristic of Amenhotep's reign and earlier as well? Clearly,

63. On the complex question of when specific festivals occurred in relationship to the civil calendar and the lunar (hence approximately seasonal) calendar, see Parker (1950) excursus A. See also von Beckerath (1987) 25–38.

traditional religion—the “constellative” perspective on the divine engendered by implicit theology—provided much of the framework. A rich variety of deities are involved, and the media through which they are manifested are the typical ones for implicit theology—cosmos, temple, and holy text. Indeed, under Amenhotep III, if Bryan's thesis is correct, the three media reach an unusually high level of integration. Egypt, the terrestrial plane of the cosmos, becomes a surface on which the movements and interactions of divine beings elsewhere in the cosmos is literally mapped out in the form of temples, locationally patterned and functionally determined so as to correspond to the mythical situations enshrined in texts. Thus, solar and lunar eyes separate from their owners, travel south, and are pacified and enabled to return north for reunion with the appropriate deities, a pattern reflected by the distribution of a series of temples throughout Egypt and Nubia. The emphasis in this context is on maintaining the actual cosmos, the concern of implicit theology: temple and cult, nationally arranged in a significant pattern, participate in ensuring the repetition of cosmically desirable events throughout daily and annual cycles that are considered equivalent to each other.

The emphasis on Amon-Ra is also very evident. Thebes, the central point of the cultic map and a place of ritual and mythic interaction, is Amon-Ra's cult center, and in various forms he is referred to at some of the other cult centers as well. Amon-Ra's interventionary and mediatory aspects were manifest in well-developed processional and public rituals, especially at Thebes; and perhaps Amenhotep's national cult development program gave this manifestation of Amon-Ra a national dimension as well. The implications of the Soleb/Sedeinga temples are that an image of Amon-Ra processed ceremonially (largely, of course, by river) between them and Thebes, and there might have been other processional links between Thebes and northern centers. Alternatively, the pharaoh himself certainly did traverse such nationwide ceremonial routes and, given his close association and even, on special occasions, identification with Amon-Ra, perhaps that process could be considered a national manifestation of Amon-Ra as well.

Finally, I have suggested that the nationally oriented program of temple building/renovation and cultic performance undertaken by Amenhotep might have gained much of its power from important patterns within the visible world that seemed to parallel the patterns on earth that were outlined by this national program of temple building or embellishment and associated cultic activity. These patterns relate especially to the solar “eyes,” the sun and the moon, as visible and active celestial phenomena and to important seasonal changes that seemed, to some degree, to correlate with their celestial



movements. This focus on such visible phenomena recalls the "new solar theology's" emphasis on the visible reality of the sun's position and movements within the cosmos, and it recalls the beliefs about these that resulted.

Should any of these suggested correlations between the three streams of religious development and Amenhotep's cultic transformation of the nation be acceptable, what might they mean? One might suggest that the combination of all three in this very visible and apparently rather innovative royal program might have contributed decisively to the ensuing crisis (under Akhenaten), because it revealed the incongruities between the three, the "dissonance" that, Assmann suggests, created both ideological tension and political strain. Or one might argue that Amenhotep's program was a significant phase in the harmonization of these three streams, unifying them together into a coherent whole, at least from the Egyptian point of view. From this perspective, Amenhotep's initiatives would be part of a process continuing on into the Ramesside period, when the integrative roles of theological speculation and ritual activity are prominent. Akhenaten's radical innovations would then have been an offshoot or dead-end branch of a much larger process of religious change and development.

#### Thebes: City and Cosmos

Thebes, southern royal capital of Egypt, was perhaps the primary recipient of the building, cultic, and ceremonial activity of Amenhotep III. Memphis may have been the preferred royal residence earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty (since Thutmose III),<sup>64</sup> but Thebes can reasonably be seen as the continuing center of administration for southern Egypt and Egyptian-controlled Nubia. Periodically, pharaohs did reside at Thebes. They visited it annually to celebrate major festivals linking Amon-Ra and the kingship and no doubt to check on the administrative roles the city performed. Moreover, all New Kingdom pharaohs (save Akhenaten) were buried at Thebes and would certainly have examined, from time to time, the progress of work on the royal tomb and on the associated funerary or memorial temple.<sup>65</sup>

The major constructional efforts of Amenhotep III at Thebes are documented in part by textual and archaeological data, in part by only one or the other (e.g., the Malqata palace by archaeological only, the "Maru Amon" by textual only). Except for Malqata (in part), these structures are cultic, and we are ignorant of their relationship to the city proper, the assemblages of pala-

tial and administrative buildings, granaries and magazines, and residences and manufactories that in their totality made up the city.

Archaeologically, most of these are unknown. We can only guess that by Amenhotep's day the main city, on the east bank, covered six hundred hectares and held ninety thousand inhabitants.<sup>66</sup> That there was a city of comparable size and complexity on the west bank is unlikely. Here, the principal structures are a string of royal mortuary or memorial temples spread along the junction between floodplain and low desert. Each may have been associated with a settlement, but some temples declined and were even demolished, and their settlements likely died out also. More permanent and long-lived was the village (at Deir el-Medina) of the artisans who cut and decorated the royal tombs.<sup>67</sup>

Our impression of New Kingdom Thebes is therefore based on its extant monumental skeleton, the relatively far-flung pattern of temples that defines the general area of the city but does not correspond to its actual size (fig. 5.7). The extensive floodplain east and west of the river would have been covered with agricultural and grazing lands and with scattered rural villages. They perhaps comprised the primary breadbasket of the city itself.<sup>68</sup>

Prior to Amenhotep's reign, most monumental buildings concentrated in the northern half of the city. They consisted, on the east bank, of the temple complexes of Amon-Ra (at Karnak) and his consort the goddess Mut and, on the west, of the temples of Deir el-Bahri and the royal memorial temples in their general vicinity. The Deir el-Bahri complex associated Hatshepsut and Thutmose III with the goddess Hathor, who was related to solar mythology as the daughter and consort of Ra and to the realm of the dead, overseen by Osiris. Northwest of Deir el-Bahri the royal tombs clustered in the Valley of the Kings; southeast were large groups of elite tombs.

In contrast, southern Thebes was largely empty, on both banks. At Medinet Habu was a small temple for "Amon of the Place of Holiness" (where he was manifest as a primeval, creator god), and on the east bank was an Amon temple of uncertain dimensions built at Luxor by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

Amenhotep's building activities at Thebes were both traditional and innovative, but they fundamentally represented an elaboration on the already existing ritual structure of the city. This was shaped by two great annual processional festivals: that of Opet involved a procession carrying Amon-Ra

64. Van Dijk (1988) 37–46.

65. For Thebes in general, see Nims (1965).

66. The suggested area and population size for Thebes are based in part on the size of the city as defined by monuments, in part on comparable data on Amarna; see Kemp (1989) 305–6.

67. For an introduction to Deir el Medina, see Bierbrier (1982); see also Valbelle (1985).

68. On the perhaps comparable situation at Amarna, see Kemp (1989) 269–70.



and the pharaoh to Luxor temple and back to Karnak, while the Festival of the Valley required the Karnak image of Amon-Ra, again associated with the pharaoh, to visit both the Hathor temple complex on the west bank and the memorial temple of the reigning pharaoh, before returning again to Karnak. Each took place at widely separated times during the year.<sup>69</sup>

While respecting and indeed enhancing these rituals, Amenhotep III proceeded in significantly different fashion in northern and southern Thebes, respectively. In the former, the preexisting temples were respected, if also enhanced; and in the case of Karnak, additional but related temples were built nearby. In the south, Amenhotep felt freer to innovate. While his vast memorial temple on the west bank in a sense continued southward the preexisting line of such structures, it seems to have been very different in type. And the sprawling palatial complex further south again, at Malqata, was, so far as we know, completely unprecedented on the west bank. Even more significantly, Amenhotep felt able to completely raze the preexisting temple of Luxor and replace it with a new, larger one.

The differentiation in building policy just described may relate to the status of northern and southern Thebes, respectively, insofar as cultic structures were concerned. The temples of northern Thebes belonged to deities (Amon-Ra, Mut, and Hathor) and hence survived; southern Thebes was more specifically royal in character—even Luxor was dedicated to the cult of the divine *ka* of kingship as much as to Amon-Ra—and Amenhotep could be correspondingly more innovative and daring.

Thus, Hathor's Deir el-Bahri complex seems to have received little or no modification, while Amenhotep's impact on the Mut temple cannot be determined at present. At Karnak proper, Amenhotep was much more active, but in ways respecting and enhancing the preexisting, already quite grandiose structure. Here, Amenhotep's designers focused on providing the temple a grand new facade and reinforcing its two traditional processional ways.

These two processional ways serviced especially the annual Festivals of the Valley and of Opet. In the former, the sacred barks, or portable shrines, of Amon-Ra, Mut, and Khonsu crossed the river on their respective barges and ceremonially visited Hathor's shrine at Deir el-Bahri as well as some of the royal memorial chapels. In the latter, these same sacred barks moved to Luxor, then returned to their points of origin, either completely by land or river or by an apparent mixture of both routes. Why the Opet involved both land and riverine routes is not clear; the second seemingly became the more popular from the later Eighteenth Dynasty onward.

69. For the Opet and Valley Festivals, see Murnane (1982) 574–79; Graefe (1986) 187–89.

In any event, the two Karnak processional routes were apparently identical to a certain degree, so far as the Valley and Opet Festivals were concerned. In both cases, the processional route involved movement by Amon-Ra's bark along an east-west axis to a point between the Third and Fourth Pylons, then along a north-south axis connecting first with Khonsu's temple, then with Mut's, so their barks could join the procession. Finally, all would either move to a Nile landing stage off to the northwest—either to cross the Nile (Valley Festival) or to proceed by river to Luxor (riverine Opet Festival)—or proceed southward by land to Luxor temple (land-bound Opet Festival). The return journeys retraced these same routes.<sup>70</sup>

Amenhotep III greatly enhanced these traditional processional routes. In addition, he may have had built around the Amon-Ra temple several new structures arranged in a seemingly meaningful pattern, although the evidence for this is admittedly highly speculative. However, should this pattern have existed, it could have related both to the overall symbolic meaning of the Karnak complex and to its ritual structure (fig. 5.2).

The two chief processional routes were emphasized in part by the building of a magnificent new pylon, numbered third in modern parlance. To make this possible, Amenhotep had the earlier court, in front of the Fourth Pylon, removed. The two pylons then framed both the east-west route, which passed through both pylons, and the one running to the southwest, which was now flanked, at its inception, by the two pylons. The intentionality of this arrangement was emphasized by the reliefs on the east face of the Third Pylon, which actually celebrated the Opet Festival, in both its riverine and, implicitly at least, land-bound forms.

Both processional routes were further emphasized. For the east-west, a magnificent double colonnade was built, extending west of the Third Pylon. The southwestern route had already been embellished by a series of pylons built by earlier pharaohs. Amenhotep added a further and final pylon (the tenth) to its line.

Northeast of the Amon-Ra temple, Amenhotep built an unusual double temple complex, along a roughly north-south axis. The larger temple, Khaemmaat, faced away from Karnak, the smaller—dedicated to Maat, the goddess personifying cosmic order—faced toward it. More specifically, both lined up with a temple built by Thutmose III to celebrate royalty and lying just behind the Amon-Ra temple, the Akh-Menu.<sup>71</sup>

70. Nims (1965) 121–22; see also O'Connor in O'Connor and Silverman (1995) 277–78; el-Saghir (1992) 181–87.

71. On the Akh-menu, see Barguet (1962) chap. 4 and 283–99.



Northwest of the Amon-Ra temple, Amenhotep may have built a new administrative palace, called "Nebmaatra (i.e., Amenhotep III) Is the Brilliantly Shining Sun Disk," to replace an earlier administrative palace that would have been displaced by the westward expansion of Karnak. Both palaces would have been used by pharaoh to conduct the routine of governance and to carry out the ceremonial appointment and rewarding of high officials; and both may also have been linked to the coronation of the pharaoh and to the celebration of the Opet and Valley Festivals.<sup>72</sup>

Finally, on the southwest, Amenhotep may have had the first version of the Khonsu temple built,<sup>73</sup> presumably on the site occupied today by the later version of that temple, begun by Ramses III. Khonsu was the divine son of Amon-Ra and Mut and was also a lunar god, often identified with another moon deity, Thoth.

Conceptually, spatially, and ritually, these three structures—Khonsu temple, the administrative palace, and the Khaemmaat/Maat complex—seem interrelated both to the main Amon-Ra temple and to each other. Ritual linkages include the Opet and Valley Festivals—the palace being involved in both, as was the Khonsu temple (Khonsu's image accompanied those of Amon-Ra and Mut on both occasions). The Khaemmaat/Maat complex, since it lines up with the Akh-Menu, may have been related to the latter's ritual cycle. This seems to have revolved around royal festivals of the New Year (and of "touching the sun"), celebrated some time after the Valley Festival, and around the Sokar and Neheb-kaw Festivals, performed some time after the Opet Festival.<sup>74</sup>

Spatial linkages may also be significant, suggesting, like the ritual ones, that the various buildings were united into a conceptual whole. Thus, Khaemmaat/Maat lines up with Akh-Menu but diagonally also relates to the Khonsu temple. The diagonal in question would appear to run through the center of the Fourth Pylon and both temple complexes are equidistant from this point. Moreover, the palace "Nebmaatra Is the Brilliantly Shining Sun Disk" may have lined up with the Khonsu temple.

The potential conceptual linkages are complex. The Khaemmaat temple relates to both the ascending sun and the pharaoh and hence suggests an identification between the two. Khaemmaat literally means "ascending in solar glory in Maat"; that is, it refers to the sun, but it was also one of Amenhotep's names as well. The Maat temple also relates to these concepts,

for Maat can be visualized as the mother/daughter of Ra-Horakhty, the means whereby he can continually regenerate and reascend (the event celebrated in Khaemmaat), and also as the companion of the son of Atum-Ra, that is—in this context—the pharaoh.<sup>75</sup> These relationships were perhaps embodied in the conjoined nature of the two temples. Given these associations, conceptual linkage with Akh-Menu is reasonable, for its northern part celebrates the interaction between sun god and living pharaoh (like Khaemmaat), and its southern part celebrates the netherworld and the royal ancestors; thus this southern part could be equated with Maat's capacity to harbor and then give birth to the sun god and pharaoh, as a new form of the sun.

The suggested relationship between Khaemmaat/Maat and the Khonsu temple involves both correspondences and reversals. Like Amenhotep (celebrated in Khaemmaat), Khonsu is the son of a sun god, Amon-Ra; but he is, as the moon, both equivalent to, yet an opposite manifestation of, the solar disk, the focus of Khaemmaat. The relationship between the Khonsu temple and the palace also includes similarity and dissimilarity. The palace is identified with the pharaoh not only as an embodiment of the sun disk but also as Ra's son and delegate on earth; the Khonsu temple represents not only the complementary form of the sun, that is, the moon, but also a royal descendant and successor to the sun god. Khonsu is Amon-Ra's child, and in myth, when Ra withdrew from humankind, he appointed the moon god Thoth (who can be identified with Khonsu) as his successor.

In the south, at Luxor, a preexisting temple was razed and a new one built; the later temple probably essentially replicated the functions of the earlier one. Luxor temple was called the "Southern Sanctuary of Amon," implicitly to distinguish it from his other sanctuary to the north, that is, Karnak temple itself. Amonemopet (Amon of the Sanctuary), the form of Amon venerated at Luxor, represented Amon-Ra primarily as a creator god, whereas Amon-Ra of Karnak was more the sun god and ruler of the cosmos. During the Opet Festival especially, Amonemopet was ritually stimulated to renew the cosmos and, along with it, Amon-Ra as cosmic ruler; and the latter in turn made possible the regeneration of Egyptian kingship as an institution and the ritual rejuvenation of its current incumbent, the reigning pharaoh. These latter events made this temple particularly important to New Kingdom pharaohs, and the Opet was as much a public as a ritual event, a propagandistically powerful reassertion of the primacy of kingship in Egypt.<sup>76</sup>

On the west bank, the vast memorial temple of Amenhotep III is unfortu-

72. On the palaces, see O'Connor in O'Connor and Silverman (1995) 263–300.

73. Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 99.

74. Barguet (1962) 291–96.

75. Troy (1986) 28.

76. Bell (1985a) 251–94; idem (forthcoming).



nately poorly preserved and incompletely explored; it has, however, recently been subjected to a telling analysis by Betsy Bryan.<sup>77</sup> Overall, the temple complex seemingly comprised three or four contiguous enclosed areas; one, in the north quadrant, sheltered a temple of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, apparently facing north. However, the core structure (running west-east) occupied a centrally located enclosure and consisted of two large open courts, followed by a long processional way lined with sphinxes. This culminated in a great sun court, densely colonnaded on every side. Beyond it lay a roofed building, of which only the first columned hall has been recorded. Presumably, like other memorial temples, it concluded with a sanctuary for Amon-Ra, with whom the deceased pharaoh was identified.

The memorial temple served the funerary cult of Amenhotep and was also involved in some or all of the three Sed Festivals he celebrated in his last decade. It was associated with an enormous amount of statuary, the many surviving examples of which have prompted some fascinating suggestions from Bryan. She argues, for example, that the memorial temple was thought of, at one level, as a representation of creation. The pharaoh was identified with Tatenen, a primeval creator god, and when the temple was intentionally flooded by the annual inundation, the great royal colossi located at strategic points would resemble the creator god, seated on the "primeval mound" and surveying a world still covered by Nun but soon to emerge into visibility and life. The many solar elements of the temple, while reflective of the close relationship between pharaoh and sun god, also evoked the first sunrise, which made that life possible; and the multitudinous deities represented in the temple corresponded to the literal creation of these beings, as well as being an appropriate manifestation of the Sed Festival, which gathered together all the gods of Egypt to acclaim the king's rejuvenation. Finally, some statues seem to have been grouped together to represent the heavens, including the solar bark in which the sun god traversed them, and also including the constellations that filled the night sky. The solar cycle, thus evoked, was crucial for the regeneration of the deceased pharaoh, who was identified with the regenerating sun god, as the decoration of the tombs of Amenhotep and the other pharaohs makes clear.<sup>78</sup>

Some distance southwest of the memorial temple was the palatial complex of Malqata (fig. 5.3). Built largely of mud brick, it has not been fully exca-

77. Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 90–93 and chap. 5. Betsy Bryan has also drafted a major study of the funerary temple and its symbolic aspects, to which she has kindly given me access, and which I have made use of here.

78. Hornung (1982b) chaps. 5–7.

vated, but the extant remains likely provide an approximation of its size and layout. Named the Per Hai, or "place of rejoicing," Malqata may have been developed specifically as a locale for part of Amenhotep's Sed Festivals (the celebration of which probably involved the whole of Thebes), but it may also have served as his Theban residence for his last decade. Malqata was abandoned soon after Amenhotep's death and may indeed—despite its size—have been a "throwaway" palatial complex, examples of which occur elsewhere in Egypt.<sup>79</sup>

The palatial complex as a whole covered about 32 or 33 hectares and had the same central axis (southeast to northwest; in the discussion of Malqata, true rather than local orientation is used) as an artificial harbor or lake immediately in front of it (covering about 50 hectares). The latter was subsequently expanded, to cover about 103 hectares. Overall, the palatial complex gives the impression of a unified layout, designed at one time, rather than a casual agglomeration of structures. For example, every major structure is oriented to the intermediate compass points (northeast, southeast, etc.) except for the residential palaces, elite houses, and servants' residences covering the southwestern third of the site. These structures deviate from the norm to a degree, perhaps because of irregular ground. The enclosing walls, however, follow the otherwise standard orientation.

The palatial complex's unity of design is evident in other ways. Its approximate center is occupied by an assemblage of formally laid-out structures, clearly for ceremonial purposes. In the north quadrant of the site was a substantial Amon temple (oriented at right angles to the axis of the central complex), facing onto a large court and with perhaps a processional way leading directly down to the harbor. This kind of relationship between temple and formally laid-out palace recalls that between the Amon-Ra temple at Karnak and the nearby administrative palace, although at Malqata the palace is south, not north, of the temple axis;<sup>80</sup> this in turn suggests that the royal ceremonies and the religious rituals performed at Malqata were inter-related. The residential zone (southwest)—which included a specifically identified palace for the king—could have housed the royal family and court for the duration of the relevant ceremonies or for longer periods of time. The harbor was also likely involved in such ceremonies, for a contemporary text

79. E.g., the palatial complexes and associated town of the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Dynasties at Deir el Ballas, apparently abandoned once its anticipated short-term uses were satisfied; see Lacovara (1993).

80. On the relationships of administrative palaces and "mortuary" palaces to their respective temples, see O'Connor in O'Connor and Silverman (1995) 270–77, 280–81.



describes vessels on "the lake of his majesty" mimicking the boats that carry Ra through the day sky, then the netherworld.<sup>81</sup>

These then are the individual components making up the monumental structure of Thebes under Amenhotep III. But to what degree might they, taken together, form a meaningful and coherent whole? Some suggestions, inevitably tentative, can be made in this regard, with a good starting point provided by an overview of Thebes recorded in a contemporary text.

A large stela (3.10 meters high) set up in the memorial temple summarized Amenhotep's projects throughout Thebes in a way that, I suggest, provides some insight into the meaning of the city as a whole.<sup>82</sup> A first step in gaining this insight is to realize that, like other stelae, this one is itself a cosmogram, a schematic rendering of the Egyptian cosmos, with, in this instance, Thebes as its focus (fig. 5.4). The upper two-fifths depict Amenhotep making offerings to Amon-Ra—Amon-Ra being identified as lord of Thebes and ruler of heaven (i.e., the cosmos), and Amenhotep as the implicit benefactor of Thebes with his monuments and explicitly the image of Ra before the two lands of Egypt. The winged sun disk (equivalent to Ra-Horakhty, the divine embodiment of power) floats overhead. Below extend some thirty-one lines of text, the first twenty-five a description of Amenhotep's Theban projects, the last six an utterance of Amon-Ra describing the subjugation of first Egypt, then all foreign lands and peoples, to pharaoh.

The winged disk and the curving top of the stela represent, I suggest, heaven seen from an earthly perspective, so its divine mysteries are not revealed but masked by the blazing sun and celestial vault. This in turn suggests that the lowest part of the stela represents the earth, and in fact the last six lines do evoke Egypt and the world around it.<sup>83</sup> Not accidentally, the depiction of heaven and the textual evocation of earth are identical in their vertical heights, to further emphasize their equivalence.

The remainder of the stela, placed between heaven and earth, represents the closed world of the Theban temples (the offering scenes) and the open world of the city of Thebes itself, as defined by a selection of its visible monuments, listed and described in the first twenty-five lines of the text. The offering scenes are naturally those occurring within temples, specifically the Theban ones, since the involved deity is Amon-Ra, "ruler of Thebes." The

placing of the scenes between heaven (above) and the evocation of Thebes, on the one hand, and the world beyond it (below), on the other, is also appropriate for a cosmogram. New Kingdom temples are habitually described as representations of heaven on earth; that is, they stand between and link together heaven and earth, just as is literally the case here.

The cosmographic aspects of the stela indicate that Thebes is to be understood as a central place in the cosmos and as a potent force in the integrative harmony, or Maat, of the cosmos. A study of the relevant text further suggests that these ideas were also seen as somehow manifest in the city itself, leading on to the notion that the city may have been envisaged as a cosmogram in its own right, a reflection of the cosmos on earth.

The description of Theban monuments provided on the memorial temple stela moves in a purposive, systematic way through the city—seeming to lay it out before us—and simultaneously evokes different kinds of associations (all with cosmological significance) for different parts of the city. The direction chosen for the description is best understood if we remember that the stela stood literally in the southwestern quadrant of Thebes as a whole (including the west bank). From this vantage point, Amenhotep's Theban monuments are described as if sequentially surveyed by the stela itself, which is visualized as an onlooker staring first ahead, to the southeast, then scanning steadily around to the northeast, but at the same time following a seemingly irregular, but in reality quite systematic, path from one monument to the next (fig. 5.5).

Thus, the text on the stela first describes the memorial temple itself, then moves to Luxor temple. The next item is a "viewing place (Maru)" of Amon, archaeologically unknown; it is usually placed between Luxor and Karnak but might correspond to the apparent harbor southwest of Luxor noted by Johnson.<sup>84</sup> There follows a description of a barge built for Amon's use during the Opet and presumably Valley Festivals, virtually a miniature temple in itself: when not in use, this was moored in the vicinity of Amon-Ra's Karnak temple. Next, the Third Pylon of that temple is evoked, and finally the temple of Khaemmaat, northeast of Karnak temple. This systematic tracking of Amenhotep's monuments seems to me much more purposive than the scribal custom of habitually listing places, towns, or regions in a south to north order; it seems intended rather to convey a real impression of the layout of the city, as defined by Amenhotep's monuments and by others whose existence is implied—for example, the rest of Amon-Ra's temple and the Hathor complex at Deir el-Bahri.

81. Kemp (1989) 213–17; O'Connor (1980) 1173–77.

82. For the stela, see Helck (1957b) 1646–57; idem (1961) 194–99; Petrie (1897) pls. XI, XII; cf. also Gundlach (1994) 89–100.

83. The Duat, or netherworld, is not explicitly evoked in the cosmography of the stela but is implied by the specific setting (memorial temple) and by the general evocation of Thebes, which would include its funerary component.

84. See this book, 76–77.



The maplike quality of the text is strengthened in other ways. For example, the description of each monument is preceded by a set of Amenhotep's royal names and titles, formal introductions or frames that seem to me to emphasize the physical discreteness of each building and their topographical separateness from each other (fig. 5.5). Moreover, key phrases especially evocative of each monument are distributed across the stela's surface in such a way that they could even be visualized as a rough map of their actual distribution on the ground. In this connection, it is perhaps significant that the description of Amon-Ra's barge begins in almost exactly the center of the thirty-one lines of text, a reference to spatiality that may relate to this "monument's" unusual relationship to the map of Thebes. Unlike the other structures described, the barge is mobile, and it is centralizing in function in that via the Opet and Valley Festivals, it links together all the chief monuments—Amon-Ra's temple, Luxor, the Hathor complex, and the royal memorial temple. At the same time, Amon-Ra's barge circulating through the city symbolically equates with the solar bark traveling the skies and "encircling" all that exists, hence his barge's aegis naturally includes the evocation of Egypt and the surrounding world that concludes the text (fig. 5.6).

Finally, the descriptions of each monument individually evoke aspects of the cosmos and hence impart to the city in its totality a cosmological dimension: simultaneously, they also seem to differentiate major areas of the city from each other in terms of their cosmological significance. Each temple—and Amon-Ra's barge—is associated with the celestial aspect of the cosmos: they are the horizon wherein Ra rises; their architecture reaches heaven and mingles with the stars, and the barge itself is equated with the sun disk rising at dawn. This imagery corresponds to the general notion that temples link together heaven and earth, as does—by extension—the city for which they provide the framework. In almost every instance, the relationship between a specific monument and the annual festivals that link the monuments and city together are specifically noted.

However, there are also important differentiations observable in the cosmological associations of the various monuments and hence perhaps in the different parts of the city that they define. If we take the Nile as providing the vertical axis of the city—and all major temples with "east-west" axes are in fact at approximate right angles to the Nile, not a true north-south axis—then the cosmological associations of monuments described on the funerary stela suggest Thebes should be seen as divided into two halves. The "upper" or "northern" half lies northeast of the "lower" or "southern" (in actuality, southwestern) half (fig. 5.7).

Monuments in "lower" Thebes are associated with the terrestrial plane of

the cosmos. The memorial temple is the place where the pharaoh receives cult from his subjects, to both recognize and facilitate the granting to him of eternal life by Amon-Ra. It is not surprising then that the funerary temple's direct link with humankind is emphasized. Its colossal royal statues (on these, see Baines's discussion in chapter 8 of this book) reflect on humans the ascending sun's light, thus becoming part of the daily renewal of the cosmos by life-giving light, while the temple and its surroundings are a microcosm of Egypt and the foreign worlds surrounding it. Its lake is like the inundation, northern and southern Egypt unite in its front pylon, its workhouse is filled with the children of foreign rulers serving as slaves, and settlements of foreigners surround it. Similarly, Luxor temple—a locus where the pharaoh displayed himself as a divinized being to reinforce the loyalty of his subjects<sup>85</sup>—because of its physical beauty specifically encourages the pharaoh's subjects to praise him. And the nearby viewing place of Amon is supplied with wine equaling in volume the Nile inundation, is a place of display visible to the Egyptians, and is associated with subordinated foreign rulers providing rich tribute to Amenhotep as the "Sun of Foreign Lands."

The barge of Amon-Ra, in terms of cosmological associations, provides a transition (as it was literally in function) to the following sections of the text, or between the "lower" and "upper" halves of Thebes as evoked in the stela. The relevant passages, like earlier ones, also refer to Egypt and foreign lands, but in a more otherworldly, exalted sense than preceding allusions. The barge's timber is of foreign origin but is from "God's land," that is, divine territories rather than merely mundane foreign lands. And while the inundation gods of northern and southern Egypt embrace it, they do so in the otherworldly context of Nun and the ascent into heaven.

The descriptions of the Third Pylon of Karnak (and the other related building activities associated with it) and of Khaemmaat temple make no direct reference to Egyptians or foreigners<sup>86</sup> or to the inundation and the two lands of Egypt. They do not have a public, or display, focus, and they concentrate instead on the emanations of the divine and on the intimate cultic relations between deity and pharaoh, all appropriate to the secluded inner world of the temple, that simulacrum of heaven. Thus the direct presence of Amon-Ra ("facing" his new pylon) is referred to for the first time, and the presence in the temple of his "divine shadow," or the emanation of the intangible, is noted. As for Khaemmaat, the emphasis is on its dedication to

85. Bell (1985a) 251–94.

86. Except in one very specific sense, with regard to the Nubian origin (Karoy) of some of the gold used in the temple; see Helck (1961) 198.



Amon-Ra in "all" his festivals and on the meat offerings Amenhotep makes to the ascendant sun.

The contrasts just sketched out suggest that, in the context of the citywide perspective taken in this inscription,<sup>87</sup> "northern" (northeastern) Thebes corresponds to heaven and the sun god's manifestations within it, and "southern" (southwestern) Thebes to earth and the manifestations on it of the sun god as embodied in the pharaoh (fig. 5.7). This does not preclude "mundane" structures in the "north," such as the administrative palace and probably government offices nearby, or obviously cultic structures and actions in the "south." Nevertheless, these occur in symbolic contexts that are predominantly celestial ("north") or terrestrial ("south"). By implication, the "northern" celestial half also appropriately includes structures not specifically mentioned in the text, such as the Hathor complex at Deir el-Bahri and the royal tomb, since these associate with Duat, or the afterworld, which is, in one perspective, part of the celestial dimension of the cosmos.<sup>88</sup> Equally appropriately, the palatial complex at Malqata, with its apparent emphasis on public royal display, is located in the terrestrial half of the city.

The concluding lines of the text are significant here, because they relate to this cosmologically structured image and again seem to relate it to the city as a material entity. These lines in effect quote Amon-Ra's reaction to the gifts Amenhotep has presented to him, described in the preceding lines. The contents and structure of Amon-Ra's utterance suggest that he is envisaged as cosmic ruler, as the mature sun god hovering over the cosmos from the daily apogee. In describing the boons that he, on his part, had conferred on Amenhotep, Amon-Ra seems to display spatially defined foci, expanding outward in concentric circles, from Thebes the city, through Egypt, and outward over the whole world as known by the Egyptians.

First, Amon-Ra describes his intimate relationship to his son and living image, Amenhotep, born of Mut, goddess of Thebes. The spatial counterpart for these mysteries is the core of Thebes, Karnak and its environs, to which the rest of the city is ritually linked. The structures implicitly evoked are Amon-Ra's temple, Mut's, and also the temple of Khonsu the moon god (literally, Amon-Ra's divine son's palace) and the royal palace "Nebmaatira Is the Brilliantly Shining Sun Disk," that is, the king's own palace and, in a

87. It should be noted that in the individual descriptions of specific monuments in northern Thebes, found in texts other than that of this stela, there are generalized references to foreigners, Egyptians, and the world of nature: my point here is that within the comprehensive context of this stela, a significant difference in terminology and association is maintained.

88. On the Duat, or otherworld, conceived of as located in the sky, see Allen (1988) 56; Lesko (1991) 119–20.

sense, embodiment, since it is named as if it *were* him. Then, Amon-Ra focuses on Egypt, beyond Thebes, by referring to his installation of Amenhotep as "the sun, that is, ruler, of Egypt." Thereafter, Amon-Ra describes the subjugation of all lands to the pharaoh, moving from the south (Kush) to the north (the Levant), then on to the west (the Tjehenu Libyans), and finally to the east (Punt), thus covering the known span of the world. The convoluted overview provided (south, then north; west, then east) probably corresponds to a concept of a convoluted path followed by the sun in the sky during its apogee.<sup>89</sup>

Thus, I suggest here that these and other data indicate that Thebes, at least in the time of Amenhotep III, was envisaged as a cosmogram, a representation of heaven and earth displayed horizontally over the ground much as the same cosmogram (also incorporating, in textual form, the city) was displayed vertically on the face of the memorial temple stela. This cosmographic structure probably relates to other cosmological features already discussed: the daily/nightly solar circle through an upper, celestial world and then through a nether, or lower, world; and the annual solstitial cycle of the sun, moving from north to south, then back to the north, and imparting to the northern half of Egypt and its characteristic seasons, human activities, and festivals a strong solar and celestial character, while imparting to the corresponding southern half a more earthly and even netherworld quality. This dualism can be glimpsed elsewhere—for example, in and around Karnak, where cult structures "north" of Amon-Ra's temple (the royal palace and Khaemmaat) are strongly solar in character, while those to the "south" (the Khonsu and Mut temples) evoke a less celestial realm, linked to conception and birth, the gestation and maturing of the young, and the moon (Khonsu), with its strong links to human fertility and productivity.

This cosmographic context suggests a number of ideas as to how the monuments and patterns of life, especially ritual life, interact with each other in the city. These interactions function simultaneously and in parallel on two planes: the surface of heaven and netherworld, that is, the upper and lower skies, which are vertically structured; and the surface of the earth, which is horizontally structured. Thus, the rituals that tie "northern" and "southern" Thebes together link "heaven" and "earth" on the horizontal, terrestrial plane, just as the sun's ritualized movements link upper and lower worlds in a vertical dimension. Moreover, the ritual cycle of Thebes, distributed through the course of the year and extended out over the horizontal plane,

89. I discuss this notion in O'Connor (forthcoming).



corresponds to the sun's vertically structured movements (solstitial) through the heavens throughout the course of the year.

This situation suggests that Amenhotep's individual monuments may also have been linked in symbolically significant ways, which could usefully be considered in terms of two different, yet coexistent and complementary, systems of orientation. In terms of the Theban region, the course of the Nile created a "local" north to which the Theban temples and palaces were oriented. Thus, temple axes were mostly at right angles to the river (i.e., had a "local" east-west axis, which was more of a northwest-southeast axis in reality) or were parallel to it (i.e., had a "local" north-south axis, actually more of a northeast-southwest axis). However, as the orientation of innumerable monuments (e.g., the pyramids of earlier times) shows, the Egyptians were also very sensitive to the true locations of the cardinal points, so this kind of orientation needs to be considered also. It is possible that the orientation of particular monuments related to specific astronomical events as well, but that is an issue that cannot be conveniently discussed here.

Systems of orientation are not the only ordering principles to consider, for the general spatial layout of monuments specifically important to Amenhotep III across the Theban landscape also elicits comment. If, as I suggested earlier, we visualize Thebes as divided into upper, "northern" (actually northeastern) and lower, "southern" (actually southwestern) halves—equivalent to "heaven" and "earth"—we can also visualize it as divided into four quadrants. Two, diagonally opposite each other, each contain only one major monument significant to Amenhotep III, namely, Hathor's chapel at Deir el-Bahri (important in the Valley Festival) and the Luxor temple of Amonemopet. In each of the other two, diagonally opposite quadrants, however, are clusters of monuments. In one quadrant, the Karnak temple acts as a central point for a constellation of temples (Khaemmaat/Maat, Khonsu, Mut) and a palace ("Nebmaatra Is the Shining Sun Disk"). In the other quadrant, some monumental complexes are conspicuously large—the memorial temple and its environs, on the one hand, and the Malqata palatial complex (including its Amon temple), on the other—but the central point is a third, seemingly modest but ritually and symbolically extremely important cult center. Roughly equidistant between the memorial temple and Malqata is the small temple of Amon of the Sacred Place built by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III but linked strongly to Luxor temple in ritual terms and hence certainly of significance to Amenhotep III as well. The "sacred place" was the "mound of Djeme," on which the temple supposedly stood. Here, in Theban cosmogony, was buried the Ogdoad, eight mysterious beings who had assisted the creator to bring the cosmos into being. Perhaps as often as every

week (i.e., in Egyptian terms, every ten days), Amonemopet of Luxor ritually visited Djeme, interacted with a chthonic form of himself, reactivated the Ogdoad, and, in effect, ritually re-created or renewed the cosmos.<sup>90</sup> Given its enormous significance, the temple of Djeme could thus be considered as flanked by two conceptually similar (if in actuality much larger) entities, which it had, in a sense, "generated" for Amenhotep III's benefit. In the memorial temple, the deceased Amenhotep III, identified with a chthonic form of Amon-Ra, anticipated continuous revival and re-creation; at Malqata, the living Amenhotep III experienced (and perhaps hoped to do so for eternity) the equally miraculous rejuvenation of the Sed Festival; the model for both experiences was set by the regenerative symbolism, and ritual, occurring at Djeme.

Taking now into account all four quadrants, the "local" set of orientations created significant lines of interconnections, cosmologically significant in that they represent the cardinal directions of the local Theban cosmos. Thus, Karnak temple roughly faces the Hathor temple along a local east-west axis (and Amon-Ra and Hathor are indeed linked in the Valley Festival), just as the temples of Djeme and Luxor fall roughly along a local east-west axis, reflective of actual ritual linkage via the weekly festival described earlier. As for the local north-south axes, memorial temples, such as Amenhotep's, tend to lie to the local south of the Hathor shrine and are linked to that shrine by the north-south segment of the Valley Festival; while Luxor temple of course lies to the local south of Karnak, and the Opet Festival unfolded along a local north-south axis.

The spatial distribution of the monuments thus summarized the form of a square or rectangle, the perimeters of the local cosmos of Thebes, perimeters reinforced by ritual events that have both spatial and temporal significance. Every week, the Decade Festival emphasized the "southern" side, while the Opet and Valley Festivals (occurring respectively right after the opening of the year or relatively close to the ending) traced out the other three sides over the period of a year. There are other levels of meaning associated with these defining processes. The movement of sacred barks or barges mimics the passage of the sun god, Amon-Ra, across (daily) and around (yearly) the cosmos, while the involvement of the pharaoh relates to the parallelism between the cosmic process and Egyptian kingship, as well as reaffirming the intimate relationship—sometimes even identification—between Amon-Ra and the king. There is also a sexual element in the patterns outlined. Amon-Ra and the pharaoh, as dying beings, need to achieve intercourse with

90. Nims (1965) 40, 155 ff.; Bell (forthcoming); Murnane (1980) 79 ff.



Hathor, so both can be reborn via her; meanwhile the Luxor temple celebrates, among many other things, the intercourse between Amon-Ra and the human queen whereby each successive pharaoh became both son and replica of the Theban god.

Yet, beyond the Theban cosmos lies a greater one, the cosmos proper (of which the Theban one is a specific, locally oriented replication), which is defined by reference to actual cardinal points. This greater cosmos also finds expression across the Theban landscape along lines of relationship that are spatially and symbolically significant. Thus, the constellation of structures centered on Karnak temple, on the one hand, and the temple of Amon of the Sacred Place (Djeme) and *its* constellation (memorial temple and Malqata), on the other, lie along a true east-west axis, which links the two constellations and parallels the actual daily course of the sun and the tremendous powers of cosmic and personal regeneration (for both god and king) that this brought into play. In addition, this east-west axis has an annual, as well as daily, significance, for it corresponds to the solar equinoxes, occurring roughly between the first two quarters of the year and then the last two.

The other significant line of relationship may link Hathor's shrine at Deir el-Bahri to the Luxor temple—the temple of Amonemopet—for the axis joining these is, approximately, a northwest to southeast one in terms of the true intercardinal points. This spatial relationship may reflect important similarities between the two cult centers. Each one is crucial to one of the two great annual festivals, the Valley and Opet Festivals, and each associates strongly with the orgasmic stimulation of Amon-Ra and the pharaoh, intercourse, and the gestation, birth, and protected maturation of beings vital to cosmic order, namely, Amon-Ra and his terrestrial embodiment, the pharaoh. Moreover, the relationship of this axis to intercardinal, rather than cardinal, points suggests a connection with the solar solstices and an evocation of the annual renewal of the cosmos, parallel to the east-west axis' evocation of the daily rebirth of the cosmos.

How might this theoretical understanding of Thebes and its significance under Amenhotep III relate to the parallel yet perhaps dissonant streams of religious thought and practice prevalent in Amenhotep's Egypt—traditional religion, the cult of Amon-Ra, and the new solar theology? As was the case with the national picture (discussed in the preceding section of this chapter), all three might be involved. Evidently, much of Thebes's meaning, as speculatively reconstructed here, relates to traditional religion and the maintenance of the cosmos in the here and now, the special focus of implicit, "constellative" theology. Yet the chief ritual linkages generated by this conceptual scheme relate to the "religion" of Amon-Ra. They are major pro-

cessional festivals with Amon-Ra as the central figure and with substantial public dimensions. The Opet Festival clearly was witnessed by and involved the city populace, and the Valley Festival was a special opportunity for all Thebans to commune with their ancestral dead. These festivals, then, were occasions on which Amon-Ra demonstrated his innovative characteristics, his individualized care for and interest in both the pharaoh and Egypt's people (as represented by Thebes's inhabitants and maybe the "pilgrims" envisaged by Assmann).

Finally, even the new solar theology, with its emphasis on the visible operations of the sun and related celestial bodies, has its place within the conceptual and ritual scheme sketched out here. The daily/nightly and annual solstitial movements of these phenomena and their relationships to the rituals and life experiences of the pharaoh and his subjects seem to be phenomena that provide the buildings and life of Thebes with much of their meaning, reinforcing—because of their solar focus—that emphasis on a single, all-powerful divinity that, for Assmann, is such a vital aspect of the new solar theology. So here, in the interweaving of these three religious themes, we may be seeing an integrating, rather than a fissuring, process at work. This would again indicate that Akhenaten's innovations represent an abortive offshoot in terms of religious development, while Amenhotep's activities and ideas were part of an integrative, main stream of development that was to culminate in Ramesside times (on this process, see also Baines's discussion in chapter 8 in this book).

### Conclusions

This discussion about the relationship between built form and worldview in the reign of Amenhotep III, with particular reference to the pharaoh's "campaign" of temple and palace building and of cultic maintenance and innovation, has necessarily been both speculative and complicated. For the speculative side, I have at least tried to present the Egyptian evidence on which my suggestions are based with regard to general worldview, religious belief, or the functions of a specific structure. As to the complexity of the issues involved, I shall attempt here a brief summary.

First, I argue that Betsy Bryan's concept of a coherent and meaningful pattern of interrelationships, on a national scale, between temples built or renovated by Amenhotep III is an acceptable and stimulating theory, albeit a difficult one to prove. In addition, I argue further that the locational patterning of these temples can be interpreted in a rather direct way insofar as they relate to beliefs about a series of interrelated terrestrial phenomena (e.g., the



inundation, temperature changes, etc.) and astronomical phenomena, especially both daily and annual patterns of movement traced through the heavens by the sun. The net result is to suggest that the temple-building program of Amenhotep III gained much of its power from the capacity of the Egyptians (elite and perhaps others) to visualize the entire known world and the visible phenomena surrounding it as a cosmogram, a reflection of the cosmic process.

Second, I focus on the Theban monuments of Amenhotep III as a central concern of his building and cultic program. I would emphasize that to some degree (even in scale) it continues policies followed by his predecessors, but that it includes some structures innovative in scale (the memorial temple) or, in terms of location, in function (the Malqata palace complex on the west bank). Analysis of individual complexes of structures suggest that they, too, functioned as cosmograms and—in conjunction with ritual actions and even public events—reflected the cosmic process with appropriately specific references to individual deities and to the pharaoh in various of his manifestations. Moreover, analysis of the uniquely comprehensive view of Thebes as monumentally defined in the stela from Amenhotep's memorial temple reveals that the city as a whole seems to function as a living cosmogram as well, reflecting in its cosmological imagery structural patterns observable, in miniature, in individual buildings and agglomerations of buildings and, in large scale, in the disposition of Egypt and Egyptian controlled Nubia as a whole.

I attempt also to suggest how these arguments, if found acceptable, might relate to the complex religious situation that existed in Egypt in the reign of Amenhotep III. In particular, all the streams of religious thought and practice—traditional religion, the Amon-Ra "religion," and the new solar theology—can be seen as finding expression within Amenhotep's building program and the different levels of meaning it seems to carry. In addition, I also suggest that the very incorporation of these three streams within individual structures and patterns of structures and within a comprehensively conceived building program with a well-articulated cosmic dimension indicates either that the Egyptians did not find them inconsistent or were actively involved in a perhaps ultimately successful endeavor of harmonization and reconciliation. In such an endeavor, the built forms themselves formed, I suggest, a crucial element. They generated complex patterns of ritual and symbolic interrelationships between society and its deities and made the city of Thebes an image of the world and of the entire cosmos.

## Chapter 6

# The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III

*William J. Murnane*

Sometime near the beginning of the last decade in Amenhotep III's reign, the officials of the domains of pharaoh gathered for an audience with the king. They already knew that the celebration of the king's first Sed Festival was imminent, and in anticipation of the strain that nearly two months' merry-making could place on Egypt's grain supply, they had worked hard to ensure that the estates they managed produced the highest possible yields. Now they would get their rewards. Dressed uniformly in costumes suitable to their rank, and bowing as court protocol demanded, the "stewards of the dwellings of pharaoh together with the administrators of Upper and Lower Egypt" were lined up in the audience chamber as their king took his place on the throne. Amenhotep III had already received the harvest reports from the hands of his bureau chief, the overseer of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khaemhet. Perhaps he had even reviewed the unwieldy pile of documents himself, although in public he was presented only with a résumé of their contents. Now the responsible officials could bask in their master's favor, as Khaemhet proclaimed that "they have exceeded their harvest dues for regnal year 30!"<sup>1</sup>

Such moments in an official career, displayed on the walls of the owner's tomb chapel, evoke for us, as no doubt they were meant to do for Khaemhet's posterity, the pulse of life in a bygone age. Modern scholarship seeks to draw from these vignettes more than they were ever intended to convey. Virtually our entire knowledge of the pharaonic system of government depends on indirect sources such as this—commemorative monuments that reveal, almost in passing, the hierarchies that governed these people's lives. Precious though these scraps are, they can be frustratingly resistant to the questions

1. Text: Helck (1955–58) 1841–42. For the scenes, see Porter and Moss (1960) 115–17 (11), (15).



historians would most like to ask. In tomb chapels, for instance, the owners' achievements were recalled not only in scenes that illustrated the high points of their careers but also in the strings of priestly and official titles they had accumulated in life. Groups of titles accompany their owners' figures wherever they appear, and they also can be placed, as space fillers, on architectural features within the tomb. This information, though abundant, is sometimes less useful than it seems. Since few officials left autobiographies that describe the stages of their careers,<sup>2</sup> it is sometimes impossible to determine when or how some individuals exercised the commissions implied by some of the more unusual titles they claim.<sup>3</sup> This might not matter if we possessed an adequate cross section of the state archives, but for no period in antiquity is this true, least of all the Eighteenth Dynasty. In consequence, a number of basic facts continue to elude us. Despite its respectable length (some thirty-eight years) and the wealth of material from Amenhotep III's reign, we know surprisingly little about it: for example, we have no precise knowledge of when most of the major figures in his administration served or even who some of them were, just as we lack a detailed understanding of normal operations within the departments these persons led. Gaps in essential documentation are at the root of much that will seem controversial, impressionistic, or inconclusive in this account of the government during the age of Amenhotep III.

Yet enough has survived from this remote period to show us the outlines of the system. The admiration that later visitors would express at the stability of Egypt's institutions seems justified here, for in its essential principles Amenhotep III's government conformed to a model that had changed little since the beginnings of the state in Egypt. Now, as before, the highest earthly authority was the king, and the main purpose of his administration was to carry out his will. This submersion of the government in the king's person was well established by the Eighteenth Dynasty, for then the term that had originally described the palace ("great house" = *pr-'3*) came to refer to the ruler himself, "pharaoh." The regime's legitimacy was always grounded in the assumption that the king was not merely mortal but was also the embodiment of divinity on earth. While the precise definition of that divine identity

2. E.g., Amenhotep son of Hapu, under Amenhotep III (see Varille [1968] 32–49); and the high priest of Amon, Bekenkhons, under Ramses II (see Plantikow-Münster [1968] 117–35).

3. See Baer (1960) and Strudwick (1985) for the impact of this problem in research on Old Kingdom government.

might vary, just as the kings' effective power waxed or waned according to conditions in society, neither the institution of monarchy nor its sacral character was ever seriously challenged.<sup>4</sup>

Although the ideology of power remained fundamentally the same, the structures that implemented it proved more variable. Many of the government's most basic elements date back to the Pyramid Age or earlier, when the departments of the granary, treasury, and other administrative bodies were coordinated under a vizier, or prime minister. Buoyed by its own successes and the authority of the god-king at its head, this central government flourished during the state's first eight centuries. Like the king, however, it became vulnerable. Following the economic and political crises of the late Old Kingdom, civil war and local separatism checked the absolute authority of the center for about three centuries, and only by the second half of the Twelfth Dynasty (later nineteenth century B.C.) did it become possible to reorganize an administration on truly national lines. Contemporary documents reveal a hierarchy somewhat different from that of the Eighteenth Dynasty but indicate a number of similar features too—notably, the division of the country into two large territorial "sectors," as well as the continued preeminence of the vizier as the superior of all the other bureau chiefs. This system, which survived the fall of the Middle Kingdom in the rump Theban state that ruled Upper Egypt as the Seventeenth Dynasty during the Second Intermediate Period, was the direct antecedent of the centralized administration that would replace it during the New Kingdom.<sup>5</sup>

The country reunited under the Eighteenth Dynasty could not, however, live entirely in the past. The confidence of old had been shaken by over a century of foreign occupation. The immediate threat was gone—no longer did the pharaoh sit between Asiatic Hyksos in northern Egypt and their Kushite allies in Nubia—but the Egypt that had once controlled its contacts with other centers of civilization<sup>6</sup> now kept a watchful eye on the balance of power abroad. The south, as an extension of the Nile Valley, required the most immediate action. The Theban insurgents of the late Seventeenth Dynasty had secured their rear in the war against the Hyksos by driving the

4. Fundamental, if dated, is Frankfort (1948b). See also Goedicke (1960); Blumenthal (1970); Bell (1985a, 1985b).

5. For Egyptian government during the Old and Middle Kingdoms, see the references in n. 3 in this chapter, along with Hayes (1953b); Kemp (1983) 76–85; idem (1989) 111–36, 178–80; Quirke (1990, 1991).

6. Western Asia: Helck (1971) 1–86; Weinstein (1975). Africa: Adams (1977) 135–92; Kemp (1983) 116–49.



Nubians from their forts at the Second Cataract.<sup>7</sup> This buffer zone, however, was not enough: the new regime's founders knew that these forts that had menaced their southern border had once been Egypt's cordon sanitaire during the Middle Kingdom. Neglect and abandonment under the Thirteenth Dynasty had permitted the Kushites to turn these strongholds against Egypt. Although the Eighteenth Dynasty was unlikely to repeat this lapse in the foreseeable future, a hostile kingdom to the south was a liability that could not be suffered indefinitely. Under Amenhotep I (ca. 1514–1493), barely a generation after the Two Lands had been rejoined, a veteran of that struggle for national unity would recall that he accompanied the king “when he sailed south to Kush to enlarge the borders of Egypt.”<sup>8</sup> The center of the Kushite state fell in short order, but the Nubians resisted Egyptian suzerainty with such vigor that a radical policy of annexation soon followed. Under Amenhotep I's successor, Thutmose I, Egyptian control was extended down to Kurgus, south of the Fourth Cataract and beyond the great bend in the Upper Nile (see map 2). This first true empire in the south would require permanent mechanisms for control that exceeded anything the Egyptians had attempted previously in Nubia.

The same pressures produced similar results in western Asia, although changes occurred more hesitantly at first. Old techniques for maintaining distance, with scorched earth and preemptive strikes, were tried under the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, but only with temporary success.<sup>9</sup> In the end, fear of regional coalitions in Syria-Palestine and the waxing power of the Mitannian kingdom drove the Egyptians to seize the security they craved by conquest. Over a span of three generations, starting with Thutmose III (ca. 1479–1425), Egypt extended its control north to Ugarit on the Syrian coast and to Kadesh inland (see map 1). This new order was actually formalized only a few years before Amenhotep III ascended the throne, when Thutmose IV turned the long-standing rivalry with Mitanni into an alliance that was sealed by marriage between the two royal families. Though the result resembled an extended sphere of influence more than it did an empire, it still served the Egyptians well enough, for in Asia they now possessed a buffer zone that they could hold against aggressive outsiders.<sup>10</sup> Thus, as a result of the impe-

7. Smith (1976) 8, with pls. ii.1 and lviii, no. 488; Smith and Smith (1976) 66–69; Simpson (1963) 34.

8. Lichtheim (1976) 13.

9. Lichtheim (1976) 13. See Weinstein (1982) 1–10; but see Hoffmeier (1989). For Thutmose I's raid in northern Syria, see Lichtheim (1976) 14, with Brunner (1956) and Redford (1979). The blocks that the latter identifies as belonging to Amenhotep I could also date to Thutmose I, if not to the Middle Kingdom: see Le Saout (1987).

10. Helck (1971) 107–67; Redford (1992) 125–66.

rial stance Egypt now assumed toward its neighbors to the north and south, traditional structures of pharaonic administration had to be modified to meet new and unfamiliar challenges.

Major innovations of this sort were unnecessary at home. Social and economic realities in Egypt had changed so little that the basic administrative departments could be retained with only a few changes.<sup>11</sup> The biggest difference, compared with the preceding period,<sup>12</sup> is perhaps not that additional departments were created (see my discussion later in this chapter) but rather that positions in New Kingdom government were more clearly defined. Most service titles in the Eighteenth Dynasty are linked to an institution and specify, in general terms, an employee's responsibilities (e.g., “overseer of the cattle of Amon”). Unfortunately, we cannot know the extent to which officials were restricted thereby to a limited set of duties or whether their obligations were more loosely defined within their departments—by external factors such as ability, influence, or the press of business, for example. In the survey that follows, I will say what is possible about the ways each branch of government operated and call attention to the major personalities in office during Amenhotep III's reign. Since royal favor continued to have a definite, if unmeasurable, impact on careers, however, it may be impossible to distinguish trends in administration from appointments made for more personal reasons.

### Imperial Government

Since Egypt's traditional administration underwent its most significant changes as a result of the new empires in Asia and the southern Nile Valley, I begin with a brief outline of how the “government of conquests” operated in each area: both receive more detailed treatment in chapter 7.

In Nubia, the most cooperative of the native princes continued to exercise their local prerogatives. At best, however, they could serve only as intermediaries between their subjects and the ruling power, and they occupied a marginal position in what in essence was Egypt's first government of occupation in the south.<sup>13</sup> At its head was a viceroy, “the king's son of Kush”—not a prince of the blood, but an official who reported directly to the king and was thus given an honorific affiliation to the royal house.<sup>14</sup> The viceroy's sweeping power was apparently not bestowed lightly. Usersatet, who held the office

11. O'Connor (1983) 208, fig. 3.4.

12. See Quirke (1990) 78–81.

13. Edel (1963); Säve-Söderbergh (1963); Simpson (1963) 1–15, 24–27.

14. Habachi (1980).



under Amenhotep II, had been a "child of the inner palace" who grew up with his king and was on familiar terms with him.<sup>15</sup> His successors, Amenhotep and Mermose, who served Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, emerge from ancient records with less individuality. Their power not only was undiminished, however, but apparently grew. Both men became "overseer of the southern foreign countries," originally a title of the viceroy's, which had become a separate position (perhaps an administrative check?) in the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>16</sup> Ties to the "estate" of the god Amon are also more noticeable in later viceroys: both Amenhotep and Mermose were "overseer of the cattle of Amon," and Mermose acquired the additional responsibilities of "overseer of the works of Amon" (and of the king) and "overseer of the gold lands of Amon."<sup>17</sup> Also indicative of the viceroys' position of power and trust under the king was the length of their tenures of office. An average of only one "king's son of Kush" is attested for each reign during the later Eighteenth Dynasty, in striking contrast to the more numerous holders of the highest civil offices in the same period.

The military origins of the Nubian administration are most vividly reflected in the titles of its subordinate officers—"adjutant," "charioteer," "troop captain," and so on. Members of the viceroy's staff tended to remain in this department throughout their careers. One Amenemope, a "letter writer" under Mermose, attained another scribal position by his successor, and by the reign of Tutankhamun he had become "adjutant of Kush." Still another of Mermose's secretaries, nicknamed Huy (= Amenhotep), may even have been the viceroy of the same name who was Amenemope's superior.<sup>18</sup> Concerns for internal security are also reflected in the development of Nubia under the pharaohs. Major settlements (at least in Lower Nubia, where they can be traced most easily) seem to have been located at the sites of earlier forts or political centers. Local government was hardly monolithic, however, but was run in different areas by military commanders, civil mayors, and the remaining Nubian princes. What gave stability to this mixed regime was its success in creating wealth. Under Egyptian rule the country's economic potential was greatly developed. Agriculture now vied with Nubia's mineral resources as an index of regional prosperity, and local authorities were Egyp-

15. Manuelian (1987) 92–94, 154–58. See "Life at Court and the Administration of the King's House" later in this chapter for the significance of the title *hrd n k3p*.

16. Manuelian (1987) 111–12; cf. Dewachter (1976) 57 n. 19; Bryan (1991) 254–55.

17. Habachi credits the first use of this title to a viceroy under Amenhotep IV (see Habachi [1980] 633, no. 13), but it occurs on the head end of Mermose's sarcophagus: see Helck (1955–58) 1934.4. Cf. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) no. 64, entry by Berman.

18. Helck (1955–58) 1935 bottom; cf. Habachi (1980) 633, nos. 13–14.

tianized, either by outright expropriation or by having an Egyptian identity grafted onto them.

Temple building also marched with the development of New Kingdom settlements in Nubia: not a few Nubian divinities were domesticated into local forms of Horus or Hathor, and the pharaohs' latent divinity was also exploited to promote native loyalty to the ruling power. The cult of the deified Senwosret III, for example, continued to flourish at Semna in a temple built for him by Thutmose III. Only under Amenhotep III, however, was the ruler's godhead exploited to the fullest. In the temples at Soleb and Sesebi, the king—as "Nebmaatra, lord of Nubia"—and his favorite wife, Queen Tiye, were adored in a style that anticipates the later worship of Ramses II and Queen Nefertari at Abu Simbel and other Nubian sanctuaries. With organized worship, moreover, came the grassroots institutions that fostered the Egyptianizing of the south. When estates were organized to support temples and other agencies of the pharaonic system, they diverted material and human resources into channels that not only were novel but had a systemic logic and viability that encouraged their survival. The pharaohs' government created, in effect, a new socioeconomic order in Nubia that would not disappear even when the Egyptian dominion ceased in the eleventh century B.C. The later kingdoms of Kush and Meroe owed not only their style but their way of life to Egypt's imperial development of its southern neighbors.<sup>19</sup>

Western Asia was more of a "tall order for the Egyptians."<sup>20</sup> Harder to reach than the Nubian lands on the upper Nile, it was also occupied by people whose culture was less familiar and who also possessed a more advanced socioeconomic organization and a more formidable military technology. More significantly, behind the Syro-Palestinian city-states loomed the kingdom of Mitanni, which had supported local resistance to Egypt for about two centuries. Only the entente concluded in the generation before Amenhotep III permitted each superpower to hold a mutually recognized sphere of influence that constituted its "empire." By contrast with Egyptian government in Nubia, then, the Egyptian dominion in Asia was established after a long, fiercely contested struggle and in the face of conditions that were profoundly different from those in the Nile Valley. These factors, in turn, affected the shape of the pharaohs' empire there. Instead of a policy of direct occupation, which was so quickly implemented in Nubia, the Egyptians governed their Asiatic possessions by proxy. Whereas the surviving Nubian princes were few and insignificant, the Egyptians' preferred agents in western

19. Adams (1977) 217–45; Kemp (1978a) 21–43; O'Connor (1983) 252–68; Morkot (1987).

20. Frandsen (1979), esp. 179.



Asia were the native rulers of its city-states. On one level, this arrangement was to the overlords' advantage. It relieved them of responsibility for local government, and it placed on native authorities the brunt of collecting taxes and fulfilling other obligations to the ruling power. This allowed the Egyptians to maintain only the slenderest "government of conquests" in the north.<sup>21</sup>

The staff of this imperial administration is poorly represented in Egyptian records: indeed, we would know practically nothing about its operations without the cuneiform Amarna Letters left at the site of Akhenaten's capital in the generation after Amenhotep III. The Egyptian presence was most directly felt in military terms. The few "overseers of northern countries" known to us were all army men, generally holding the rank of "troop commander" (*hry-pdt*).<sup>22</sup> The hierarchy of imperial field officers in the north—"standard-bearers," "company commanders," "army scribes"—is sometimes revealed in western Asian sources, but most of the time these writers found it more convenient to lump these men together under a generic Akkadian title, *rabišu*, "commissioner." While a close reading of the texts shows that some of these officials were more equal than others, the result of this practice is an often hypothetical fit between these "on the spot" records and what we otherwise know about Egyptian military organization. It seems clear, however, that the chief commissioners were headquartered at a number of regional centers—at Gaza in Canaan, Kumidi for inland Syria, and Sumur on the Syrian coast. Their subordinates seem to have moved around in their districts according to need, whether to collect taxes, deport troublemakers, or back up local authorities with Egyptian arms. By the later Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt's control was secure enough to permit the system to operate with a measure of cosmopolitanism. One of the high commissioners, a probable contemporary of Amenhotep III named Yankhamu, was himself an Asiatic (at least by name and origin) who directed the administration of the Canaanite province and is described in respectful terms by a number of the contemporary vassal princes under his supervision. He eventually retired to Egypt, receiving the honorific title "royal fan-bearer," and was remembered nostalgically during more troubled times that followed during the next reign.<sup>23</sup>

21. Kemp (1978a) 48–56; Leclant (1980); Weinstein (1982) 10–15. See overall Hachmann (1982) and Groll (1983), although I do not endorse the latter's attempt to structure the government in the Asiatic provinces on the same lines as the Nubian administration.

22. E.g., Amenmose, under Thutmose III through Amenhotep II (Manuelian [1987] 121 [V.2]); and Khaemwaset, under Amenhotep III (Helck [1955–58] 1930–32).

23. Helck (1971) 249–50.

Most striking about the Egyptians' imperial government in the north, however, is the modest resources with which it operated and the latitude that it allowed its subjects. The most common themes sounded in the Amarna Letters revolve around war (both hot and cold) among the vassal princes of the empire. Denunciations are often accompanied by appeals for Egyptian troops, and in the Egyptians' response (or lack of it) lies one of more intriguing paradoxes of Egyptian imperialism in Asia. Not only were many of these requests ignored (witness the lengthy dossier of Rib-Addi, prince of Byblos, who was eventually driven from his city by the pressure of the king of Amurru, his neighbor to the north), but the support they asked was often small—usually less than one-hundred warriors, and sometimes as few as ten or twenty. One wonders whether the mere presence of an Egyptian force could be relied on as a deterrent to aggressors. Equally puzzling, especially to those who see it as the role of an empire to maintain peace within its borders, is the amount of outright warfare Egypt permitted between its vassals. While earlier scholars saw this as indicating the collapse of Egyptian power under Akhenaten, it is regarded today as the "normal state of abnormality" that the Egyptians tolerated (in practice, if not theory), a facet of the realpolitik they continued to exercise in pursuing state interest in the face of conflicting claims among their vassals.<sup>24</sup> A more detailed account of how this worked under Amenhotep III must be deferred until chapter 7. Entirely consistent with the pattern of selective action in other sectors, however, is Egypt's intervention against the rise of Amurru under Abdi-Ashirta, followed by its uneasy acquiescence to the same development under Aziru, his son. This reliance on local strongmen, with the concurrent scaling down of the Egyptian military presence in Asia, belongs to the reign that followed Amenhotep III's. Consistent in the Egyptian policy it illustrates, though, is the lack of commitment to anything approaching the sort of full-scale occupation that was currently working in Nubia. For its half measures, Egypt would pay a stiff price in the generations that followed the era of good feeling under Amenhotep III.<sup>25</sup>

#### Home Rule: Harnessing the Productivity of the Land

Ever since the early Old Kingdom, when it is first possible to recognize the major departments of government, the Egyptians had found it useful to distinguish between different sources of wealth. Since the majority of people

24. Ibid. 246–55; Liverani (1979b) 3–13; Redford (1992) 192–213.

25. Murnane (1990).



were employed in growing foodstuffs (mostly grains), the transfer of this produce from the fields to government depots was a huge self-contained process that was still managed during the Eighteenth Dynasty by the granary administration.<sup>26</sup> Other materials that came within the purview of the central government were often handled by officials connected with what we loosely term the "treasury"—but it should be said at once that this neat division of responsibility does not account even for all the economic activities that involved the state. Although all the land in Egypt belonged in theory to the king, a separate "royal estate" was constituted as his privy purse. While this "king's house" (*pr-nswt*), with chief stewards, builders, overseers of cattle, and the like, had its own administration, it is not always clear whether this was self-sufficient or operated in conjunction, at least in terms of landownership, with the central granary administration. In addition, quite a number of deliveries reached the center from institutions that operated under state sponsorship but were allowed to have a quasi-independent existence: estates assigned as endowments to temples and high officials, for example, made deliveries to the court of assorted foodstuffs, such as fat, honey, and wine, as well as manufactures.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, while the existence of a central treasury is implied by some officials' titles, it is not immediately clear how this institution might have been coordinated with other, presumably local treasuries or how the work of the chief treasury officers fit into the system as a whole. Regrettably, such difficulties have occasionally been aggravated in modern works by a misleading use of terms—for example, two titles that passed from the Middle Kingdom into the Eighteenth Dynasty and associate its holders with "treasury" duties. The older of the two, "overseer of the double house of gold and/or silver" (*jmy-r prwy nbw/hd*), was connected to the central administration, as it had been since the Old Kingdom, and it is usually simplified in translation as "overseer of the treasury."<sup>28</sup> The other, more obliquely worded title, *jmy-r htm*, "over-

26. Böhleke (1991) 52–287; Schmitz (1984a) 593–95; Strudwick (1985) 251–75; Helck (1958) 152–58; Hayes (1973) 373–75.

27. Temple lands were also administered by crown officials, so the distinction between state, royal, and temple property may have lain more in the accounting of its yield than in its management "in the field." For a brief discussion, based largely on Ramesside sources, see Janssen (1975) 139–52, 180–82.

28. Schmitz (1984b) 537–39. Cf. Helck (1958) 508–22 ("Schatzhausvorsteher"); Bryan (1991) 247–49 ("Overseer of the Treasure House"). Titles that refer in archaizing fashion to the "double house of gold/silver" and "double granary" emphasize the separate administrations of Upper and Lower Egypt—a principle still maintained by the Eighteenth Dynasty (e.g., with the two viziers), though it is not clear how thoroughly it was applied throughout the government.

seer of the seal," is generally translated "treasurer";<sup>29</sup> but the question this raises about its holders' relationship with the "treasury" is as unnecessary as it is misleading, for this official's orbit lay not in the central government but in the administration of the "king's house."<sup>30</sup> Although the system's most basic premise (the universal dominion of the pharaoh) was monolithic, in practice the government operated through the interaction of separate economic authorities.

One official who bestrode all these sources of supply was the overseer of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt. As we have seen (n. 1), the harvest from estates managed by the "stewards of the dwellings of pharaoh together with the administrators of Upper and Lower Egypt" was gathered under the supervision of Amenhotep III's granary chief, Khaemhet. These operations—the measuring of the standing crop in the fields, the ensuing harvest, and the transport of the grain to nearby depots, there to be redistributed as rations for employees of other government agencies—all took place under the granary scribe's watchful eye, and they are regularly illustrated in the tombs of officials, often with considerable vividness and individual detail.<sup>31</sup> Seldom, however, do these scenes provide enough detail to illustrate how the granary department worked. Khaemhet's tomb is something of an exception, but even there the evidence is anecdotal rather than systematic. The appearance of a few of Khaemhet's subordinates in scenes on the walls of his mortuary chapel, for example, provide a few tantalizing hints as to the department's organization.<sup>32</sup> Chief under the overseer himself was probably the "scribe who counts the grain of the lord of the Two Lands in Upper and Lower Egypt": a certain Pawah holds this title in the tomb of Khaemhet, where he is given precedence over other granary officials in two scenes, and it seems likely that he, rather than his master, bore the brunt of departmental record keeping. One of his subordinates, named Re, is given the title "scribe who counts the grain in the granary of pharaoh," which suggests that he served in a comparable position, as manager in chief, for the granary bureau of the royal estate.<sup>33</sup> A likely subordinate of this man was the "scribe of the granary of pharaoh" Wadjmose, who also served under

29. Helck (1958) 466–73 and Schmitz (1984c) 539, 541 n. 1: both render this title as "Schatzmeister." The literal translation is suggested by the spellings: cf. van den Boorn (1988) 61 nn. 35–36.

30. Schmitz (1984c) 540–42; van den Boorn (1988) 61–62.

31. Hayes (1973) 381–83; Störk (1975); Helck (1977), with references.

32. Helck (1955–58) 1843–44, with references.

33. For a similar official in temple administration, see Manuelian (1987) 149–50 (a "scribe who counts the grain in the granary of the divine offerings of Amon").



Pawah.<sup>34</sup> This meager hierarchy, while it confirms what we know from earlier periods of the Eighteenth Dynasty, leaves all too much of the granary department in the shadows. For example, three men who appear in one of the scenes in Khaemhet's tomb are referred to as his "servants" (*sdm-š*): it is equally possible that this generic title described these men as unskilled employees of the granary department or as household domestics. Little is revealed by their activities on the tomb wall, where they are shown in ritual butchery of mortuary offerings, which might be done by either class of subordinates. From other sources we know something about the bureau's larger subdivisions—for example, that it was organized into geographical regions<sup>35</sup>—but although it must have had manual workers as well as scribes, these people are mostly hidden from view in the surviving records.

Although even the highest and best known of Amenhotep III's officials are shadowy figures at best, we can supplement what is known about them and their offices by analogy with men who had served in comparable positions during previous reigns. The office of overseer of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt, for example, required not only administrative skill but a grasp of the complexities of agriculture in the Nile Valley, which some of its earlier holders might well have acquired from prior assignments. A number of these men made their reputations in the provinces (for example, as overseers of the rich agricultural lands in the western oases and Middle Egypt) or in such dependencies of the "king's house" as the royal mortuary foundation.<sup>36</sup> Another significant consistency in the careers of the earliest known granary chiefs in the Eighteenth Dynasty is that they were members of the upper echelons of the palace administration: three of them were either "first king's herald" (*whmw nswt tpy*) or "king's herald," and two had responsibilities in the entrance area (*rryt*) of the palace.<sup>37</sup> The same pattern continued still later in the dynasty, when the granary chief's position was held by the king's chief steward—under Amenhotep II by Maanakhtef, who had served as royal butler;<sup>38</sup> and then by Re (who may also have been king's herald) under Amenhotep III.<sup>39</sup> Khaemhet may have shared his predecessors' background in running the "king's estate," but that is uncertain. His one truly minor title, "king's scribe,"<sup>40</sup> could suggest an early stint in the royal

34. On the ranking of scribes by service titles, see Onasch (1986).

35. Helck (1958) 157.

36. Ibid. 384–89; Giddy (1987) 69, 71, 74–77.

37. Helck (1958) 495–96 (1–3).

38. Manuelian (1987) 130 (VII.6).

39. Helck (1958) 371, 500 (9); cf. Bryan (1991) 248–49. It is uncertain, however, that these titles all belonged to the same man: see n. 158 in this chapter.

40. A frequent title: see, e.g., Helck (1955–58) 1842.11, 1844.12, 1845.7.

secretariat, but so many contemporary high officials held the same title that it might simply have designated its holders' membership in the state bureaucracy.<sup>41</sup> Family connections smoothed the way for some of these men: both Nakhtmin, who had served under Thutmose III and was himself the son of an overseer of the granary of Amon, and his son Menkheperresonb served as overseers of the double granary;<sup>42</sup> and Khaemhet's father, Imhotep, had been overseer of the double treasury.<sup>43</sup> Bureaucratic incumbency within families, though possible and keenly sought, was not automatic, however, and it seems to have been exceptional among granary chiefs during the Eighteenth Dynasty. Given this pattern among holders of this office, then, and their crucial role in fostering the economic health of the country, it is likely that most overseers of the double granary rose to the position on the basis of merit and administrative experience.

After the harvest, the grain impounded by government scribes made its way to a number of depots. In addition to the state granaries, however, foodstuffs were also delivered to an institution known as *shena* (*šn'*), a term that is translated "storehouse" as often as "labor establishment,"<sup>44</sup> because a *shena* served in both capacities: while a *shena* served as a holding area for supplies that were later sent elsewhere, it served mainly as a workshop where raw materials were processed into manufactured commodities.<sup>45</sup> Grain, for example, could be transformed into bread and beer that were then distributed locally as temple offerings and rations for workers. This brute labor of the *shena* was done by an ill-defined class of "subordinates" (*mrt*). In the New Kingdom, these unfortunates included male and female slaves (some of whom are occasionally defined as prisoners of war) and no doubt some Egyptians, although it is unclear whether they served under the duress of poverty or in confinement for criminal activity.<sup>46</sup> In any case, work in the *shena* was hard, monotonous, often uncomfortable, and even injurious to the workers' health.

The weaver in the workshop,  
He is worse off than a woman;  
With knees against his chest,

41. Cf., e.g., its later use by an official whose modest rank belied his real power, Amenhotep son of Hapu (see "Zenith of a Golden Age" later in this chapter).

42. Helck (1958) 498.

43. Ibid. 389–90. Imhotep was also a "child of the inner palace" (*hrd n k3p*), as Maanakhtef had been.

44. E.g., Faulkner (1962) 269.

45. For most of what follows about the *shena*, see Polz (1990) 44–47; Helck (1975a).

46. See Bakir (1952) 22–29; Eyre (1987) 188–90; Lorton (1977).



He cannot breathe air.  
If he skips a day of weaving,  
He is beaten fifty strokes;  
He gives food to the doorkeeper,  
To let him see the light of day.<sup>47</sup>

The preceding description is drawn from a work written in the Middle Kingdom, about five centuries before Amenhotep III's reign. The contrast that the work draws between the scribe's easy life and the wretched plight of manual laborers was still a common theme in the New Kingdom,<sup>48</sup> however, and the conditions it describes were no doubt similar.

We are fairly well informed about the personnel of the *shena*, since the generic term "*shena* worker" (*šn'w*) used in earlier times was abandoned by the New Kingdom in favor of job-specific titles (such as "baker," "butcher," etc.). In addition to the normal complement of scribes and "sealers," each *shena* had at least one "policeman" (*sš3*) and a staff of minor functionaries who were grouped under the generic title "servitor" (*b3k*).<sup>49</sup> At the head of each *shena* was an "overseer" (*jmy-r šn'*) who was assisted by a "chief" (*hry-šn'*).<sup>50</sup> Despite the preponderance of grain in deliveries to these institutions, however, not one of them was administered by the overseer of the double granary. Titles borne by *shena* overseers indicate that the depots that did not belong to the "king's estate" were affiliated, as a rule, with a major administrative institution in the immediate locality—either an urban center (e.g., the "military-industrial" suburb of Peru-nefer near Memphis) or one of the temples. One depot director who may have been an early contemporary of Amenhotep III, the *shena* overseer Nakht, belonged to a respectable family and owned a tomb in the main private cemetery at Thebes. His exalted-sounding title, "first king's son of Amon," had been in his family for at least three generations and identifies him as one of the leading porters of the bark shrine of Amon and thus one of the most conspicuous figures in the public processions that took place when the god ventured out of his sanctuary.<sup>51</sup> By what is probably an accident of preservation, most of the known *shena* overseers in the Eighteenth Dynasty were attached to the estate of Amon, doubtless the largest producer of grain in the vicinity of Thebes and thus a

47. Lichtheim (1973) 188.

48. Walle (1947).

49. Polz (1990) 59 (D).

50. See *ibid.* 48–50, 54–56, for the functioning of the institution and a list of principal officers in the Eighteenth Dynasty. In the Ramesside period, the rank of the two offices was reversed, with the *jmy-r šn'* being subordinate to the *hry-šn'* (*ibid.* 50–53).

51. Habachi (1968); Porter and Moss (1960) 443, no. 397. Cf. Bryan (1991) 272 (3.1.6.1).

convenient repository for local foodstuffs. However, like most other institutions in Egypt, the *shena* organization was not monolithic. Local depots of various sizes, each one identified by the name of its current director, seem to have been scattered through the countryside, each one engaged in processing foodstuffs for the "king's house," the temples, or one of the principal departments of state. In a series of accounts dated to the reign of Amenhotep II, for example, no fewer than ten depots were responsible to the treasury; and four provided the necessities of the "god's wife" (whose household was thus kept distinct from the king's).<sup>52</sup> Under this arrangement, raw foodstuffs that were assigned to each of these departments was sent to its proper *shena* for processing, and only then would it be passed on as rations that institutions could distribute or that might be consumed directly by individuals. While these depots could also function as magazines, they do not seem to have acted as long-term storage facilities. Although more than two-hundred and fifty jars from Malqata list deliveries for Amenhotep III's jubilees, not one came directly from a *shena*,<sup>53</sup> even though some of these goods must have been processed at such facilities: the implication is that produce was usually kept only as long as necessary to change it into the manufactured form in which it was sent to its ultimate recipients, who then redistributed it under their own names.

By long tradition, as noted earlier, the state treasury was referred to grandiloquently as "the double houses of gold and silver."<sup>54</sup> Its purview extended beyond precious metals, however, and included virtually everything that came into the government's possession *except* grain. The titles held by directors of the state treasury during the Eighteenth Dynasty—"overseer of the wine place," "overseer of hooves, horns, feathers, and scales" (referring to animal products), "overseer of all growing things" (vegetables)—reflected not only these multiple sources of revenue but the treasurer's wide control over manufactures and labor throughout the Egyptian Empire. Djehuty, who served as director of the treasury during the coregency of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut, describes the range of the treasurer's activity in his tomb autobiography.

[I counted up] ivory, ebony, and the many fruits of [this] foreign land (= Nubia) as the tax of each year. I placed my seal on the best [of the

52. Helck (1961–65) 631; Polz (1990) 45–46.

53. Hayes (1951) 96–97; Polz (1990) 47.

54. The frequent abbreviations of the treasurer's double title (e.g., "overseer of the silver house") should not be regarded as constituting separate and subordinate offices, as suggested by Helck (1958) 403 n. 1: see Bryan (1991) 247–48.



products belonging to the inhabitants of] the northern regions—Asiatic gold, silver, copper, [and . . . , as well as] every sweet-smelling [flower]. I reckoned up what the mayors gave, and I received all their dues. His Majesty repeated [the favoring (of me) when he caused that I be sealer of the double treasury, which is filled] with silver, gold, lapis lazuli, turquoise, and every noble gemstone.<sup>55</sup>

As custodian of so many precious materials, the treasurer was often charged with spending them. Thus he was also overseer of all the craftsmen of the king, with responsibilities for the workshops that produced objects for use and display in the palace and the temples of Egypt; and as overseer of all the works of the king, he was called on to provide means for the building projects that were executed in the king's name. Djehuty's tomb inscriptions, once again, are a good resource for the many "works"—constructions at Karnak and on the west bank of Thebes, as well as smaller items, such as wooden shrines, door leaves, and ritual equipment for the cult—for which the treasurer might be responsible.<sup>56</sup>

Eighteenth Dynasty treasurers, like their counterparts in the granary bureau, were chosen from the ranks of men who had already proved their worth in "middle-management" positions. Hatshepsut's appointees seem to have won their spurs in temple administration: Djehuty held a number of priest-hoods in his native region of Middle Egypt, and his successor Senemioh functioned as "guardian of the divine offerings of Amon" and "scribe who counts the cattle of Amon" before he was elevated to the treasury. Both men went on to high positions, probably sinecures, in the administration of local clergies—Djehuty, again, as overseer of priests in Middle Egypt, and Senemioh as steward of Montu in Armant.<sup>57</sup> The same backgrounds are occasionally seen in later treasury directors—for example, the treasurer Itchu had been "pure priest" and overseer of the labor force (*mrt*) of Amon<sup>58</sup>—but it is not always possible to distinguish early service titles from the priestly offices (such as "lector priest") and generic ranking terms (e.g., "king's scribe") that these men could have held concurrently with their highest positions. Moreover, since the "double treasury" titles are frequently claimed by the highest officials of other departments (such as viziers, high priests, and royal stew-

55. Sethe (1927–30) 436:4–16 (= Burkhardt [1984] 71).

56. Sethe (1927–30) 420–30, 437–39 (= Burkhardt [1984] 63–69, 71–72); Helck (1958) 397–99.

57. Ibid. 397–401, 508–9 (2–3).

58. Manuelian (1987) 125–26. This man, tentatively dated to Amenhotep II's reign, also served as court chamberlain (*jmy-hnt*); but it is impossible to be certain whether this, rather than the treasurer's office, was the pinnacle of his career.

ards),<sup>59</sup> it is not clear whether the treasurer's job was a stepping-stone to higher office or was bestowed on the country's chief officers as an honorific title, by virtue of the resources under their control. If the latter proposition is true, then two or more overseers of the double treasury must have functioned concurrently.<sup>60</sup> This conclusion rests on slender grounds, however, and leaves a number of questions unresolved. It is not clear, for example, whether the treasurer's responsibilities were divided geographically, like the vizier's, into Upper and Lower Egyptian areas; nor is it clear if they were parceled out among the departments of the high officials who held the title and, if so, how these various branches of the treasury were coordinated with one another. The evidence supplies no answers.

No fewer than five overseers of the double treasury have been assigned to Amenhotep III's reign. The first two, who may also have served Thutmose IV, are shadowy figures. The treasurer Imhotep, as we have seen, was the father of the granary chief Khaemhet;<sup>61</sup> and we have also encountered Re, who in the course of his career also attained the offices of king's herald, granary chief, and treasurer.<sup>62</sup> While most of this man's titles reflect his treasury duties (as overseer of craftsmen, works, and material), they also show him as chief steward of the king<sup>63</sup>—but only on one of his surviving monuments, which might suggest that he acquired this appointment at court in his twilight years, capping a long and varied career in the service to the central government. Darkness falls during Amenhotep III's middle years, which are poorly documented by comparison with the highly publicized activities of the king's first and fourth decades. It also seemed impossible to date a third treasurer, Mermose, since in a graffito from Aswan<sup>64</sup> he appeared with two other officials who were thought to come from opposite ends of the reign—Kheruef, Queen Tiye's steward, from its final years, and the Nubian viceroy Mermose, whose campaigning was dated to its first decade.<sup>65</sup> With the realization that the viceroy Mermose's campaign occurred not in year 5 but toward the second half of the reign,<sup>66</sup> however, it is now possible to date the treasurer Mermose in the vicinity of both his better known colleagues, that is, around the end of the third decade of Amenhotep III's reign.

59. E.g., *ibid.* 101–2 (I.2), 103 (II.3), 105 (II.7), 106 (II.11), 115 (III.11), 131 (VII.8); Bryan (1991) 247–48.

60. Helck (1958) 187; Bryan (1991) 249.

61. See n. 43 in this chapter; Porter and Moss (1960) 215–16, no. 102.

62. Bryan (1991) 248–49.

63. Helck (1958) 499–500 (8).

64. *Ibid.* 512 (10).

65. *Ibid.* 403; cf. Epigraphic Survey (1980) 17–26.

66. Topozada (1988) 164.



By year 30, however, Mermose had passed off the scene and his post was held by an exceptionally interesting newcomer, Sobekmose. Not only was this man one of the relatively few officials who managed to pass his highest office on to his son; he is also unusual in having well-documented roots in the department that he later directed.<sup>67</sup> Sobekmose's family is attested in the service of the treasury for five generations: his maternal grandfather, two brothers, son, and at least one grandson held the title "treasury scribe," a post he too occupied before he was promoted to lead the department. On his father's side, moreover, Sobekmose had ties to the military administration: his grandfather, father, and grandson were army scribes. These were modest offices, no doubt, but the tenacity with which the family held onto them demonstrates no mean ability to carve out niches for its members in two separate departments—perhaps also a factor in the clan's continued prominence in the clergy of its hometown at Rizeiqat, southwest of Thebes. An even greater honor was that Sobeknakht, the father of Sobekmose, had managed to be appointed steward of Amon—an exalted position for someone of his rank, even if it was very probably shared with other high officials.<sup>68</sup> The elegant (and no doubt expensive) commemorative stela that another son, the treasury scribe Iuny, had made under royal auspices for his father is a good yardstick for the family's wealth and status, for it was made while Iuny's brother, Sobekmose, was still only a treasury scribe<sup>69</sup> and thus before he was elevated above the rest of his family as the department's chief.

Sobekmose's family is also unusual for the relatively secure dating of its members' tenure in office. Sobeknakht was already steward of Amon by year 20, when he joined the staff of Amon's high priests to witness the installation of one Nebnefer as chief grain measurer in the *shena* of the divine offerings of Amon.<sup>70</sup> Sobeknakht's son, the treasurer Sobekmose, was in office by year 30, when he contributed wine to his master's first jubilee: at that time, his own son Sobekhotep was already an adult but still served as a subordinate treasury scribe.<sup>71</sup> Six years later, however, Sobekhotep had replaced his father as chief treasurer and was deep in preparations for the king's third Sed Festival. A subordinate, the scribe "Amenmose, (nick)named Humay," describes how

67. See Helck (1958) 511 (8) for this man's family and the offices they held.

68. See Manuelian (1987) 101 (I.2), 106 (II.11), 118 (IV.6); Bryan (1991) 270 (3.1.5.1).

69. Helck (1955–58) 1887–89 = Kozloff and Bryan (1992) no. 60, entry by Berman. Amenhotep III and Tiye are both shown offering to Osiris, and the main text makes note of Iuny's male and female relatives.

70. Helck (1955–58) 1884–86 = Helck (1961) 300–301.

71. Helck (1955–58) 1983.15–16; idem (1958) 404.

when His Majesty was in the Southern City [in his palace on the west] bank of Thebes, lo, a charge was placed on the king's scribe, the treasury overseer [Sobek]hotep, called Pa[ne]hsy, to provide turquoise, since His Majesty was planning a third [Sed] Festival.<sup>72</sup>

Barring the possibility of rain, conditions during the period of December through January 1355/4 must have been optimal for a visit to Sinai.<sup>73</sup> Although the inscription Amenmose left near the mine specifies neither the size nor the makeup of the expedition for which "the scribe [was] thereof in the midst of them," it anticipates the happy outcome in typically orotund style.

When I directed the works of turquoise, I extract[ed products] therefrom [in] double amount. And when the superior of this servant was rewarded [from the treasury of [the pharaoh]]—live, prosper, be healthy!—he [was] given the gold of favor, so that those who came for[th together with my] lord were in jubilation. [When I] command[ed] the workpeople with respect to all [good services, I found [the things] that were there in various . . . When I had traversed the Great Green (Sea) [I made a re]turn landing at Yiu, while the army that was behind me was safe, with none missing from [it], but en[tirely full] in its arrival [at the Southern] City in [peace].<sup>74</sup>

While most officials emerge from official records with no individual marks to color the bland recital of their achievements, a tiny personal detail may perhaps be inferred for Sobekhotep. If his nickname Panehsy, "The Nubian," is taken at face value, he would have been one of those dark complexioned Saïdis who still populate the towns and villages of Upper Egypt in great numbers. At an earlier stage of his career, he had led trade and mining expeditions abroad in person—excursions again described in Amenmose's characteristically self-centered narrative.

I followed my lord on foreign soil, and I took possession of material that was bundled up in front of me. It was in order to make known the wonders of Punt, and to receive aromatic gum resin that foreign chieftains bring in transport ships as the dues of foreign countries unknown to humankind, that I came forth beside the Great Green (Sea).<sup>75</sup>

72. Helck (1955–58) 1891.6–9.

73. I.e., II *Peret* 9 in year 36: Helck (1955–58) 1891.4; Krauss (1985) 124.

74. Helck (1955–58) 1893.1–12; B.G. Davies (1994) 48.

75. Helck (1955–58) 1892.12–18.



This time, however, Sobekhotep had evidently "led his regiment from behind" and stayed home—not a surprising choice for one of the busiest officials in the land, who, in addition to his normal duties, now had to deal with the minutiae of his king's upcoming jubilee.

Though the holdings of the granary and the treasury were extensive—for they embraced not only Egypt but the provinces of Nubia and Asia—it would be a mistake to view these departments as exercising a monopoly on all sources of revenue. Vineyards, for example, were independent of the granary, just as most herds of cattle remained unaffiliated with the treasury. A centralized cattle administration, encompassing all herd animals, seems to have been in existence by the late Eighteenth Dynasty, for in Horemheb's reform decree we hear that "the overseer of the cattle of pharaoh, L.P.H., comes to effect the inspection of cattle in the entire land" every year.<sup>76</sup> Although the oversight of "hooves and horns" was often claimed by the overseers of the double house(s) of gold and silver, the treasury seems not to have controlled the central cattle administration. Instead, the census and taxation duties this bureau performed were distributed over many individual administrations that kept track of cattle belonging to institutions, such as individual temples and the "king's house," and to the private estates of high officials. In this respect, given its variegated and far-flung sources of supply, the central cattle administration resembles the granary department.<sup>77</sup> Vineyards, however, were more loosely organized. This is probably because they were relatively small compared to other agricultural producers, being located only in a few selected areas of the country—mostly in the Delta and the oases—and specializing in wine, a costly manufacture favored by the elite and not widely distributed in the society at large.<sup>78</sup> Since wine was not a staple, no large amounts needed to be made available for redistribution, and when supplies had to be shifted between departments (usually to the "king's house"), these could be requisitioned from producers on an individual basis. Vineyards thus remained under the authority of their owners (temples, members of the royal family, and high officials) and regularly made their own wine. The pottery jars used to "bottle" the finished product were normally inscribed with the locale and affiliation of the vineyard, the chief vintner's name, and (most important to the consumer) the year of manufacture.<sup>79</sup>

76. Kruchten (1981) 85–88; Helck (1958) 173.

77. Ibid. 173–79.

78. Helck (1961–65) 717–36.

79. Wine did not age well in the porous containers that were commonly available. Most of the wine buried in Tutankhamon's tomb was less than five years old, and there was only one jar whose contents were significantly older: dated to a year 31, undoubtedly Amenhotep III's, it was

Given the numerous sources of supply with which even the treasury and granary departments had to deal, the central government could not have exploited the economy's resources without the help of local organizations. For most of Egypt, particularly near urban centers, these "grassroots" administrative tasks were generally performed by mayors (*ḥ3tyw*).<sup>80</sup> Local authorities themselves were conglomerates of urban and rural areas. The Memphite suburb of Peru-nefer, for example, had its own overseer ("steward," *jmy-r pr*), as did an otherwise obscure establishment at Meidum.<sup>81</sup> Estates in the countryside (called "mansions," *ḥwwt*) were administered by intendants ("rulers of the mansions," *ḥq3w-ḥwwt*) who, along with local mayors, were charged with the collection and transport of the taxes that the lands under their control owed to the state.<sup>82</sup> Local dignitaries—priests and headmen (or mayors)—made up the district council (*qnbt nt w*) that was responsible for judicial and administrative matters in each locale.<sup>83</sup>

While provincial mayors are sporadically represented in surviving records from the New Kingdom,<sup>84</sup> the best known personalities presided over the country's two major cities, Memphis and Thebes. During the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Theban mayor's province apparently extended to both sides of the Nile: independent mayors were put in charge of West Thebes only as of the Nineteenth Dynasty, replacing an earlier functionary who acted as "overseer of the desert hills on the west of Thebes."<sup>85</sup> For all the importance of the "Southern City," though, not many Theban mayors are known. A few, albeit prominent, individuals are attested earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty—notably Ineny, who served from Thutmose I into the reign of Hatshepsut, and Sennefer under Amenhotep II. All these Theban mayors were closely involved in the administration of the city's premier cult, particularly in the granary and works departments of the estate of Amon.<sup>86</sup> The construction projects carried out by Ineny left a permanent mark on Amon's temple at Karnak,<sup>87</sup> and the visible interconnection between the Theban mayor's office and Amon's establishment seems to have reached its apex during Sennefer's

roughly a quarter century old and had probably "gone off" before it was requisitioned for the dead king's tomb deposit. See Černý (1965) 1–4.

80. Helck (1958) 220–23.

81. E.g., Manuelian (1987) 111 (III.3: Usersatet, overseer of Mer-Atum [Meidum]), 115 (III.11: Qenamun, steward of Perunefer); cf. *ibid.* 154–55, 159.

82. Van den Boorn (1988) 98–109; Helck (1958) 234–38.

83. *Ibid.* 239–41; cf. Allam (1986).

84. For a convenient list of localities and known individuals, see Helck (1975b) 875–80; cf. Bryan (1991) 264–66.

85. Helck (1958) 532–33; Manuelian (1987) 119 (IV.7).

86. Helck (1958) 418–29, 522–31.

87. Sethe (1927–30) 54:1–3, 68–73 = *idem* (1914) 29, 35–38.



tenure. A rare and amusing insight into the mayor's "hands-on" involvement in local management comes from a letter, evidently never sent (for it was found with its seal intact), in which Sennefer instructs a "cultivator" named Baki who lived somewhere near Hu. In anticipation of a royal visit, the mayor orders that flowers, milk, and wood be laid on—if necessary, by commandeering support from the mayor of Hu and the herdsman of the neighboring towns—and he closes with a tart injunction: "Now mind, you shall not be slack, for I know you are sluggish and fond of eating lying down!"<sup>88</sup> A successor of Sennefer's, and possibly a relative by marriage, was one Kenamun, who lived into the reign of Amenhotep III. One of the scenes, now destroyed, in this man's tomb showed a flotilla of Syrian ships docking in an Egyptian harbor—perhaps at Thebes, which would have received a great deal of traffic owing to its combined importance as a religious center and a favorite royal residence.<sup>89</sup> After this, however, the Theban mayor's position may have been downgraded. Its most prominent holder under Amenhotep III was one Ptahmose, who claimed no fewer than three Theban titles—"mayor of the Southern City, vizier in the Southern City, high priest of Amon"—on one of his commemorative monuments.<sup>90</sup> (The problems raised by Ptahmose's multifarious activities will be discussed later in this chapter.) It is possible, however, that Amenhotep III's predilection for the Theban area (as witnessed by the construction of the palace town at Malqata and the king's extended residence there) so intensified the central government's direct involvement in local affairs that the mayor's office was absorbed—at least temporarily—into the Upper Egyptian vizier's department.

At the northern capital,<sup>91</sup> local government was vigorously represented by the scion of a family that would all but dominate the highest ranks of Amenhotep III's administration. The "mayor of Memphis" Heby had been allowed to succeed to his father's office, "scribe who counts the cattle of Amon," and he exercised it "throughout the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt" before being promoted to other responsible posts in the estate of Amon: he eventually became overseer of the cattle of Amon and "overseer of the double granary of Amon throughout the nomes that are in Lower Egypt."

88. Helck (1958) 236. Cf. Manuelian (1987) 118–19, 160–62; Wente (1990) 92–93.

89. See Porter and Moss (1960) 276–77, TT 162; Bryan (1985) 21. In a personal communication with this author, Professor Bryan suggested a Theban venue for the shipping scene in Kenamun's tomb and noted supporting cuneiform evidence for Asiatic trade with Egypt, via Ugarit among others: see Astour (1981) 15–26 and cf. Knapp (1983).

90. Helck (1958) 441; idem (1961–65) 1914–15.

91. See Malek (1987) 135–36 for the most complete list of Memphite mayors.

Perhaps he held this last position as an extension of his mayoral authority in Memphis.<sup>92</sup> That post was already his in Amenhotep III's year 5, when Heby left a graffito at Aswan to commemorate his presence "at the making of the downstream journ[ey of] His Majesty wh[en] he was in his first campaign of victory in Kush."<sup>93</sup> Heby may have formed part of a welcoming committee similar to the one that greeted Seti I when he returned from his "first campaign of victory" in Asia;<sup>94</sup> but since his son, in a later graffito on Biga, refers to Heby as "general of the lord of the Two Lands" (*jmy-r ms' n nb t3wy*), it may be that he played a more active role, as commander of the levies from the territory under his jurisdiction.<sup>95</sup> It is worth noting that Heby and his family had their professional roots in the cult administration of Amon, which was based at Thebes. As we shall see, his sons Ramose and Amenhotep (each born to a different wife) would more than maintain the footholds their ancestors had established in the government of both Upper and Lower Egypt.

Beneath the department heads worked innumerable scribes—not all within one royal secretariat (although such a department did exist),<sup>96</sup> but distributed throughout the departments as personal secretaries; scribes who counted grain, bread, and cattle; and the other faceless "writers" who transacted the bureaucracy's affairs. This compulsive record keeping was inspired by a system that not only extracted revenue from the country's producers but then redistributed it into the economy in the form of payments (often in kind) to other departments and individuals. With a ubiquitous state bureaucracy and a socioeconomic structure that made nearly everyone responsible to (or for) someone else, most people seem to have received their basic necessities through these channels. Payments that exceeded what individuals required for sustenance were the basis for a flourishing private economy. The state, having already extracted its dues, took practically no notice of these activities, which seem to have operated at nearly all levels of affluence. Technically outside our period, but no doubt typical of their class during at least the later Eighteenth Dynasty, are the wealthy householders at Akhenaten's capital at Amarna, priests and officials who sought to increase the capital they earned in payments from their staté jobs by investing it in home-based manufactures.<sup>97</sup> Reflecting life at the lower end of society are papyrus documents from the Fayum, dated to years 27 and 33 of Amenhotep III and into

92. Helck (1958) 443.

93. Helck (1955–58) 1793.1–12.

94. Epigraphic Survey (1985) pl. 6.

95. See Topozada (1988) 156, 164 (with a different interpretation).

96. Helck (1958) 277–78.

97. Kemp (1981) 84–86; cf. Eyre (1987) 199–201.



years 2 and 4 of his son: in these records a procession of herdsman, soldiers, and common citizens pass before our eyes, not in the hieratic poses they assume in the monuments of their betters, but grubbing for economic advantages as they exchange cattle and the daily service of their slaves for the use of land and a variety of other things.<sup>98</sup> Privately manufactured items, such as baskets, cloth, and mortuary equipment, were common and no doubt formed the bulk of what was offered on the market days that are sometimes illustrated in scenes from daily life in officials' tombs. The existence of such private entrepreneurial activity at the fringes of a centrally regulated economy remains one of the most intriguing, and typical, paradoxes of ancient Egypt's society.<sup>99</sup>

### The System's Enforcers: The Police and the Military

With Egypt's expansion beyond its traditional frontiers during the Eighteenth Dynasty came a more highly developed military establishment. In earlier times, troops recruited from the nomes had been joined together with foreign auxiliaries (mostly Nubians) whenever a major expedition was sent abroad. The terms used to describe these men had been mostly generic—"warriors," "followers," the "younger generation" (*d3mw* and *nfrw*)—and the same is true of the terms describing their leaders, especially at the highest level. Since military command was not a profession but usually a charge placed on the most able organizers of men and materiel, the most important offices held by these men lay in civil or palace administration, and only for present purposes were they referred to as "commander" (*tsu*) and "overseer of the expedition" (*jmy-r mš'*). Midranking military officers are attested, but their titles are often indistinguishable from those held by civilian organizers of the labor force and water transport.

As of the Eighteenth Dynasty, however, a well-defined and exclusively military hierarchy emerged.<sup>100</sup> Although the warrior pharaohs often led their forces in person, this was not invariable, and it was not even feasible when, for example, armies moved to the same destination by different routes, as they did during Thutmose III's Euphrates campaign. The king's deputy in such situations was called "great overseer of the expedition" (*jmy-r mš' wr*), to define his rank as commander in chief and set him apart from the common "expedition overseers." The army staff included a chief planner for the

98. Gardiner (1906); cf. Navailles and Neveu (1989).

99. See Kemp (1989) 238–60; cf. Bleiberg (1992).

100. For all this, Schulman (1964b) is the standard work. Cf. Lopez and Yoyotte (1969); Helck (1982a).

campaign ("leader of the troops," *ts-pdwt*) and a separate commander for the "cavalry" (*t-nt-htrj*), the "master of horses" (*jmy-r ssmwt*), who was in charge of the "charioteers" (*kdnw*). Officers from higher to the middle ranks had their "adjutants" (*jdntw*). Division commanders (variously called "standard-bearers," *t3j-sryt*, and "chiefs of troops," *hryw-pdwt*) led bodies that were made up of "companies" (*s3w*) consisting of between 200 and 250 men each, and these in turn were divided into "platoons" of 50 men and "squads" of 10, each under its own leader. Common soldiers (*w'ww*) generally served for an unspecified term (perhaps twenty years?) before being mustered out into the reserves and replaced by a new "generation" (*d3mw*).<sup>101</sup>

Little is known about the upper corps of army officers in the time of Amenhotep III, although most of the individuals who would play such prominent roles under his successors must have begun their careers by the end of his reign. More can be said, however, about the department of military administration—the "scribes of the army" whose oversight of supply and logistics made its operations possible. High among these officials were the scribes in charge of a class of individuals called *nefru*: the traditional translation of this term, "recruits," will be followed here, despite some significant support for an alternative meaning, "elite troops."<sup>102</sup> Probably the best description of what these officials did comes from the mightiest of their breed, the "scribe of recruits" Amenhotep son of Hapu.

My lord, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nebmaatra repeated favors for me when he bundled everybody up for me, gathered and placed under my supervision as royal scribe and chief of recruits (*hry-tp nfrw*). When I raised the levies (*d3mw*) of my lord, my reed pen reckoned their millions of numbers. I caused their new ones to flourish in place of their impaired ones (?), the "staff of old age" being "the son whom he loves."<sup>103</sup> I taxed estates with the (proper) numbers thereof: when I had divided the (work) teams of their estates I completed (the number of) their serfs from the best of the plunder that His Majesty had seized on the battlefield. Once I had raised recruits, I inspected all their companies. It was to repel foreigners in their (native) places that I

101. As implied in Amenhotep son of Hapu's great biographical text (see n. 104 in this chapter); cf. Lichtheim (1973) 101 (= lines 57–59).

102. Schulman (1964b) 20–21, 62–66; Bryan (1991) 282. But cf. remarks by Lopez and Yoyotte (1969) 5, which are not undone by the objections raised by Bryan (1991) 325 n. 309.

103. Egyptians would have recognized these expressions relating to inheritance: the retiree's assistant ("staff") is the "beloved son" who succeeds him in office and ensures him an honorable burial.



put teams (of men) on the road—ones who enclosed the Two Banks (= Egypt) while keeping watch on the movement of the Sandfarers. I did the same on the shores of the (Bitter?) Lakes and at the river's mouths, which were pulled together under my troops as well as the crews of royal navy.<sup>104</sup>

Quite a number of the men under Amenhotep's authority, then, were assigned to military service, and this accords well with the known orbits of other scribes of recruits. Many of these men were also "scribes of the army (*mš'*)"—one man even calls himself "scribe of recruits of the host (*pdwt*) of pharaoh."<sup>105</sup> It is just as clear from Amenhotep's description, though, that the army was only one department that the "chief of recruits" supplied with men. His office seems to have functioned as a latter-day department of manpower—and given the enormity of the task, it probably took several regional directors, the scribes of recruits, to coordinate all the human resources of the country at any given time. Unfortunately, most other written sources are less informative than the son of Hapu's inscriptions, and their relevance to the scribe of recruits' normal duties can be questioned, if only because of the extraordinary position Amenhotep himself held under the king. For this reason, we cannot be sure whether ordinary scribes of recruits, even as a group, held the same authority he did over as wide a cross section of the populace. Perhaps the best way of visualizing the system lies in recognizing that, for soldiery at all times in history, fighting is only a part-time occupation. When soldiers were not on campaign, they were often directed into other projects: the term that we normally translate "army" (*mš'*) is applied not merely to the military but to any "expeditionary force" sent under state auspices—for example, to the mines and quarries outside the Nile Valley. Since the armed forces were ultimately under royal command, projects under the auspices of the "king's estate" probably had first claim to the army's services as a labor force. Major institutions, such as the temples, would draw primarily on the manpower of their own estates. As dependencies of the government, however, they too might receive additional workers according to need and royal priorities. While there are hints that the scribes of recruits played a major role in the overall coordination of Egypt's labor force, our meager sources prevent us from seeing these operations in detail. At least it is beyond question that these officials enjoyed a prominent, and profitable, place in the bureaucracy. A certain Siese, for example, having

104. Varille (1968) 36, 41 (= lines 13–14).

105. For typical careers and pertinent literature, see Schulman (1964b) 62–66; Kadry (1986); Manuelian (1987) 123–24; Bryan (1991) 279–85.

served both Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, was able to retire with sinecures in the mortuary cults of several kings, acting in his old age as the steward (*jmy-r pr*) of Ahmose, Thutmose III, and Thutmose IV in their temples at Abydos.<sup>106</sup>

By the chance of survival, we can also trace the careers of a number of middle-rank officers through the various branches of the service. Not a few men who rose through the ranks began their careers in the navy. And two of them, who began their careers on board one of the navy's flagships<sup>107</sup> in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, were promoted to high ranks in the army and the police. One of these men, called Amenemhab but nicknamed Mahu, was a gently nurtured contemporary of Amenhotep II who spent his youth as a "child of the inner palace": after serving as a common soldier (*w'w*) on the ship *Beloved of Amon*, he worked his way up to the rank of divisional commander (*hry-pdt*) and eventually became an "adjutant of the army."<sup>108</sup> One of his contemporaries, named Didu, had also served in the ranks on board the *Beloved of Amon*, and he too spent his middle years as an army officer—as a "chief of the company of pharaoh," "standard-bearer of the company of His Majesty," even "royal messenger on every foreign country." At some point in his career, however, he was detailed to police duty at Thebes, as "overseer of the desert hills on the west of Thebes" and, more significantly, "chief of the Medjay." This last title marked him as the commander of a police force that was still identified with desert Nubians, perhaps ancestors of the modern Bedja tribesmen in the Sudan, who had long served as auxiliaries in the Egyptian army.<sup>109</sup> The ties between the navy and the police may have been regularized by the later Eighteenth Dynasty, for a similar promotion took place in year 6 of Thutmose IV, when Nebamun, the "standard-bearer of the *Beloved of Amon*," was promoted to "chief of the Medjay on the west of Thebes." Perhaps at the same time, Nebamun's brother, Turi, was "chief of the Medjay at Thebes"—very probably reflecting the traditional division of responsibility between the two sides of the river (cf. n. 85), which is also implied by the recent discovery of a stela belonging to Nebamun in western Thebes. Nebamun was elderly when he assumed his job with the police, and since he was charged with the training of young

106. Helck (1955–58) 1924–29 = idem (1961) 320–22.

107. Overall, see Säve-Söderbergh (1946). The *Beloved of Amon* is a ship that figures prominently in the careers of a number of military men in this period. Apart from what is mentioned in the text, the father of the scribe of recruits Siese was also posted, as a standard-bearer, aboard this ship: see Gaballa (1987).

108. Manuelian (1987) 120–21 (V.1), 162–64.

109. Ibid. 119 (IV.7); Valloggia (1976) 99 (39). Cf. Hayes (1973) 370–71; Herzog (1975); Andreu (1982).



Medjay recruits, the pattern of his career and that of Didu may suggest that the position of chief of the Medjay was reserved for senior officers who were not yet ready for full retirement.<sup>110</sup>

#### At the Summit: Amenhotep III's Viziers

For as long as we can trace a central administration in Egypt, a prime minister had stood between the king and the various departments of government. Since the duties of this official (called *t3ty* in Egyptian) corresponded broadly to those of the *vezir*, his counterpart under the Ottoman Empire, it has become conventional to refer to him by that anachronistic title, "vizier." The responsibilities that came with this exalted office were daunting.

Lo, being vizier,  
Lo, it is not sweet,  
Lo, it is as bitter as gall.  
Lo, he is the copper that shields the gold of his master's house.<sup>111</sup>

The preceding wry warning comes at the beginning of a composition we call *The Installation of the Vizier*, which is found, sometimes together with a longer *Duties of the Vizier*, in tombs built for a number of these officials in the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Between the two of them, these texts offer a comprehensive overview of what the viziers did.<sup>112</sup> Simply put, their duty lay in coordinating the many departments of government for the benefit of king and country. As the pharaoh's chief deputy, the vizier was the titular head of both civil government and the "king's estate," particularly the latter—for example, he personally appointed the palace police chief and the officials in the "front office" (*rryt*), who held the crucial job of coordinating the activities of the "king's house" with the outside world. As in the Old Kingdom, the actual management of the departments was normally left to their chiefs (such as the overseers of the granary and treasury): the vizier controlled the system *ex officio*, but on the departmental level he seems to have become involved only in special cases—of last resort, for example, or disputed jurisdiction. The vizier was also *de facto* chief justice in the land, and his council is not infrequently cited in documents as the court of last appeal. Wherever necessary, moreover, the vizier's authority bestrode the normal divisions of government. When the king traveled outside the "resi-

110. Bryan (1991) 286, 290. For the stela of Nebamun, see Eid (1984–85).

111. Lichtheim (1976) 22.

112. See Helck (1958) 62–67; Van den Boorn (1988) *passim*, esp. 309–32.

dence," for example, the vizier organized the military escort, and he is found accompanying the army when the king led campaigns in person. The *Duties* text, since it predates the establishment of a full-fledged empire, does not indicate that supervision over the foreign office lay in the vizier's normal orbit. While this added charge could be implied by one of the Amarna Letters (EA 71), whose Asiatic author addresses Amenhotep III's vizier Huy as *rabišu*, "commissioner,"<sup>113</sup> the example is too isolated to allow any firm conclusions regarding the vizier's role in governing the empire. In general, however, what the vizier had to do in the normal course of his duties truly made his office what the installation text calls it, "the pillar for the whole land."

Since the vizier's many duties proved, in the end, too burdensome for one man, the office had been split into two departments, charged, respectively, with Upper and Lower Egypt. This division of labor had obtained for at least three generations before Amenhotep III,<sup>114</sup> but apart from the obvious geographical focus of each vizier's activities, we know very little about how they coordinated their supervision over government departments, and we do not even know whether they were fully equal in rank. The problem hinges on the location of the royal capital—what the Egyptians called "the residence"—in the Eighteenth Dynasty. One of the vizier's oldest titles was "overseer of the city"—and regardless of whether that had originally meant the king's pyramid city or the urban center around his palace (assuming the two were separate), it is generally agreed that the "residence" of the pharaohs in the Old Kingdom lay in the area of Memphis. The uncertainty for the early New Kingdom, however, lies in determining what happened once Egypt had been reunited by a dynasty that was based in the south. While there was nothing to prevent the transference of the capital back north to Memphis, most scholars have believed that it remained at Thebes, the royal family's home city, for most of the Eighteenth Dynasty: only after the Amarna period, in the reign of Tutankhamon, is it thought to have been moved to Memphis.<sup>115</sup> The case for Thebes, however, has always been impressionistic. Indications to the contrary—for example, the preponderance of royal princes in contemporary evidence from the north—are not conclusive either; but excavations at Memphis since the 1970s have increased both our knowledge of the New Kingdom city and our sense of its importance, so that the consensus in favor of Thebes may eventually be reversed. This issue potentially affects our

113. Helck (1971) 248; Gordon (1989) 19. For a fuller discussion of this man see the last paragraph in this section.

114. Helck (1958) 17–44; Hayes (1973) 353–57.

115. E.g., Helck (1958) 1–9; Zivie (1982) 27–28; Stadelmann (1985) 467–68.



understanding of government in the Eighteenth Dynasty, since it was arguably the vizier at "the residence" who stood closest to the king and might thus have outranked his colleague. The evidence is ambiguous, although we will see reason to believe that the greater prestige came to be vested in the northern vizier.

Comparatively few viziers are attested across the length of Amenhotep III's reign. One man, named Thutmose, has been dated to this period<sup>116</sup> on improbably slender grounds, and he may belong instead to the time of Thutmose IV or even earlier.<sup>117</sup> Another vizier, recently discovered in the course of excavations at Memphis, is more intriguing, for his name (spelled "Aperia" in Egyptian) is almost certainly of Semitic origin (i.e., "Aper-El"). His tomb, which was found intact albeit badly damaged, included the burials of his wife and son—the latter, who claimed the unquestionably Egyptian nickname Huy, having attained to high rank in the army as a scribe of recruits and master of horses. While objects found in this family tomb date it to the time of Amenhotep III, the burial also contained mud sealings of his successor, "Neferkheprure-Waenre," or Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. There are exciting implications to these discoveries: among other things, they convey a strong impression of cosmopolitanism in the staffing of Egyptian government at the highest level. A comparison with Amenhotep III's foreign service, in which responsible offices were also granted to men of Asiatic origins, is unavoidable. But these revelations at present tantalize more than they truly illuminate the system as a whole, and any refinement must await the full publication of Aper-El's tomb.<sup>118</sup>

One of the greatest of the high officials who served under Amenhotep III, and the most ambiguous, was the vizier Ptahmose, whom we have already met as "mayor of the Southern City." Certainly he was among the most highly honored subjects not only of his reign but of the entire Eighteenth Dynasty. His monuments, though few, are unusually informative—up to a point. Not only is he unambiguously dated to Amenhotep III's reign, but he claims to have served in two positions—both at the apex of their respective hierarchies—that were seldom held by the same person: "vizier in the Southern City" and high priest of Amon.<sup>119</sup> Not surprisingly, there is some controversy over when and how he managed to acquire such a constellation of

titles. It is generally thought that he held his two highest posts in succession, since as a rule they are not combined in this way: Hapuseneb, who was high priest under Thutmose III and Hatshepsut, is the only other man who claimed both offices, but the meaning of his vizier's title is obscure, and it occurs only on one of his many monuments.<sup>120</sup> Ptahmose, by contrast, bears both titles on nearly all the pieces that attest to his career. If he held these offices in sequence, his tenure as vizier would have fallen before Amenhotep III's last decade on the throne, when the post was held by another; and since his pontificate could not have fallen in the middle years of the reign (see my related discussion later in this chapter), it could only fit near its beginning<sup>121</sup> or at its end<sup>122</sup>—perhaps extending into the early reign of Amenhotep IV, although this seems unlikely.<sup>123</sup> There are no convincing reasons to exclude the possibility that Amenhotep III appointed Ptahmose to both positions at once, even for a significant period of time. Since such an unusual tenure of office might be a harbinger of the struggle that broke out between the Amon's clergy and the royal house in the following reign, it is a pity that the facts cannot be established any more clearly. As a result, Ptahmose remains an anomaly, both as vizier and high priest.

Amenhotep III's last two viziers stand, by comparison, in the full light of day, for they both held office during the last decade of Amenhotep III's reign and shared in the reflected radiance of his jubilees. The better known of the two, Ramose, was the son of Heby, the mayor of Memphis who had lived earlier in the reign, and he was also the half brother of Heby's other son, Amenhotep the great steward of Memphis. While he has been thought to have been the southern vizier (mostly on the basis of his Theban tomb and evidence for his activities elsewhere in Upper Egypt),<sup>124</sup> this conclusion is now uncertain. His tomb chapel in western Thebes is, regrettably, the source that tells us most about him. Ramose evidently began to prepare his final

116. Helck (1958) 298–99, 441 (15).

117. Bryan (1991) 275, 321–22 n. 257; Murnane (1992) 189.

118. See for now Zivie (1989), (1990), who prudently refrains from committing himself on this man's origins. The physical remains (Strouhal 1993) do not conspicuously suggest that he was foreign.

119. Lefebvre (1929) 241–43 (13); Helck (1958) 441–42 (14).

120. Helck is inclined to dismiss it as honorific and doubts the title was held concurrently with that of high priest; Lefebvre, with no greater or lesser probability, maintains that Hatshepsut invested Hapuseneb with a special charge as southern vizier. See Helck (1958) 286–87; Lefebvre (1929) 78–79.

121. Thus Helck (1958) 299–302. Cf. Bryan (1991) 244, 268; Bryan suggests that Ptahmose may have also served Thutmose IV as vizier and high priest.

122. Lefebvre (1929) 99–102.

123. See Redford (1963). Redford argues that May, the nickname claimed by the high priest of Amon in year 4 of Amenhotep IV, derived from a formal name ending in *-mose* and thus suggests Ptahmose. But one would expect the iconoclasts to have inflicted more damage on the mortuary monuments of the last high priest of Amon before the Amarna period than is the case here: see Helck (1955–58) 1914–16. Names ending in *-mose*, moreover, were not uncommon in the late Eighteenth Dynasty.

124. Helck (1958) 302–4, 442–43 (16).



resting place near the end of his career, for the king of record in his tomb is not Amenhotep III, who had appointed him and whom he had served longest, but his son, Amenhotep IV. Moreover, by the time Ramose began to decorate his tomb, the young king's rebellion against the orthodox religious establishment had progressed far enough to be reflected on its walls: in an extraordinary pairing of scenes, both executed more or less simultaneously at the back of the hall,<sup>125</sup> Amenhotep IV first appears enthroned alongside the goddess Maat and receives ritual bouquets from the vizier and his associates. Next, however, in an abrupt change of manner, the pendant of this tableau on the other side of the doorway shows the king and his queen, Nefertiti, inside the window of the appearances, bathed in the sunbeams of the solar disk that hovers above. This scene, in complete contrast to the other decoration in the tomb, was executed in the proto-Amarna style of the contemporary sun temples that were rising on the east bank of the Nile. Ramose, looking quite different from the elegant and well-fleshed gentleman shown elsewhere in the tomb, listens to the king's instructions and is then shown imparting them to a mixed delegation of foreign emissaries.<sup>126</sup> The final break with orthodoxy was yet to come, for the king was still calling himself "Amenhotep," and the four high priests of Amon are shown marching in the deceased's funeral procession on the south wall of the chamber.<sup>127</sup> Even so, there prevails here a mood markedly different from the serene world of Amenhotep III's first jubilee, barely a decade earlier.<sup>128</sup>

Ramose's chapel also bears strong witness to the power of his extended family.<sup>129</sup> At least three generations of the house of Heby are represented among the banqueters gathered in permanent company on the tomb walls: Ramose's elder half brother, the steward Amenhotep, was evidently dead, for his son Ipy is already shown with his father's title. By marriage, moreover, Ramose was allied to a substantial military family: his father-in-law, May, was commander of the chariotry, and Keshy, his wife's brother, was a tracker of Amon, presumably attached to the Theban police. Still another guest at Ramose's eternal banquet (his name and relationship lost) was high priest in Amenhotep III's mortuary temple in West Thebes. Even more important, however, was a distant relative who bore, most uncharacteristically for this society, titles more modest than most of his companions, although he still managed to outrank them all: set apart by his long, flowing hair, the scribe of

125. Nims (1973).

126. Porter and Moss (1960) 110 (12–13).

127. Ibid. 108 (5).

128. I am assuming that there was no long coregency of Amenhotep III with his son.

129. Helck (1955–58) 1783–88 = idem (1961) 255–57.

recruits Amenhotep son of Hapu adds the ultimate luster to a gathering that would have outshone most others of its time in ancient Thebes.

Ramose, named simply as "vizier," occupied a place of honor in the scenes that depict Amenhotep III's first Sed Festival at the temple the king built at Soleb, in Nubia. He was preceded here by a colleague, another vizier whose name is missing but who can be none other than the vizier Amenhotep (more familiarly called Huy) who, along with Ramose, contributed foodstuffs to the jubilee celebrations at the king's palace complex in West Thebes.<sup>130</sup> Although nothing is known about this man's family, there are mounting indications that he was a mighty figure who may even have outranked his well-connected colleague. Unlike Ramose, his activities are attested on monuments from both north and south, and his titles—such as "director (*hrp*) of Upper and [Lower Egypt]" and "overseer of all the works of the king in Upper and Lower Egypt"—also suggest that his writ ran in both parts of the country. It is now clear, moreover, that he was involved in the operations at the sandstone quarry at Gebel Silsila East late in Amenhotep III's reign.<sup>131</sup> The most intriguing new revelation about this man, however, is that he owned a tomb in the Theban necropolis, which, though badly ruined, was planned on the same expansive scale as the sepulchres of Ramose and other high officials of the time.<sup>132</sup> This discovery might indicate that Amenhotep was himself a Theban, and it has been suggested that the conventional wisdom be reversed, making Ramose the northern vizier and Amenhotep the southern. The prevailing northern focus of Ramose's family might favor this; but although his career has been seen in terms of the expansion of a Memphite family's influence to Thebes, the case might be just the opposite: the house of Heby, with its connections to the estate of Amon, might itself have been Theban. With his commissions at Silsila, moreover, and his activities in both Upper and Lower Egypt, Amenhotep might as easily be seen as a dominant "northern" vizier who impinged on his southern colleague's province. Since we have seen (at n. 113) that it was to "the vizier Huy" that one of the Asiatic vassals felt obliged to write, he may also have held the superior position. Does this mean that the greater power, and the royal residence, were now centered in the north? The slightness of these indications makes any case for the primacy of Memphis over Thebes debatable. Whether or not Amenhotep outranked Ramose, however, we may well take

130. Helck (1958) 304–5, 443–44 (17).

131. See Caminos (1987). Caminos notes that this vizier may also have been the official represented on the shrine dated to Amenhotep III's thirty-fifth year, but that the vizier's inscriptions were too thoroughly erased in antiquity to allow certainty.

132. Gordon (1983); Eigner (1983).



seriously the title that the former claims in his tomb, "great chief spokesman (*r hry wr*) in the [whole] land."<sup>133</sup>

### Cities of God: Cults, Priests, and Temples

"I act for my begetter with affection"<sup>134</sup>—thus Amenhotep III sums up the reciprocal obligation that bound the king to all "his fathers and mothers," the gods of Egypt. Just as ordinary mortals staked their claims to inheritance by participating in their ancestors' funerary cults, the king legitimized his intermediate role between the gods and humanity by providing the necessities of their cult. The temple buildings that tourists visit today are only the barest and most conspicuous parts of the endowment that sustained the state religion. Support at the most basic level was given by gifts of land: estates, not only in Egypt but in the newly conquered territories of the empire, were made over to provide the regular maintenance of the cult. Imperial victories enriched the temples with "male and female slaves of His Majesty's capturing." In addition, the sacred buildings themselves were regularly enlarged or rebuilt, embellished with great pylons and obelisks, outfitted with divine and royal statues, and equipped with countless shrines, chests, vases, and other implements, many of these gifts made of precious materials—in wood, metal, and stone—and all of them manifesting the piety of the gods' "beloved son."

Although the temples' wealth is evident from inscriptions and the fabric of the buildings themselves, it is difficult to derive more than a generalized impression of their economic role during the Eighteenth Dynasty. While a number of extant documents supply the foundations for making such an assessment, most of them date to the two centuries that followed Amenhotep III's reign, and the patterns they suggest cannot be applied to Amenhotep III's period in any detail. The bulk of contemporary information comes from Thebes, moreover, giving a lopsided picture that may exaggerate the admittedly important role of the estate of Amon. Even so, a sufficient number of the prominent clergymen who lived under Amenhotep III appear in surviving records to permit a broad overview of their activities.

Full-time priests were, paradoxically, a very small minority in the "houses" of the gods in Egypt. Some of these positions had traditional connections with provincial government, a usage that still survived in the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, when mayors had usually doubled as the high priests of the local gods. Although these links weakened later in the dynasty, when the top

133. See Gordon (1989). For another view, see Helck (1992).

134. Lichtheim (1976) 45.

positions in provincial cults became sinecures awarded to other clergy, priestly offices continued to number among the benefits set aside for retired military officers and civil servants (cf. n. 106). Outside of festival days, when the gods' statues were paraded in public, cult activity took place inside the temple at stated times, generally in the morning and evening. Most of the lower clergy, moreover, served only on a part-time basis: these ordinary "pure priests" (*w'bw*) were usually young men or modest officeholders, seconded to the divine service for a month at a time from their usual jobs, and then replaced at the end of their terms by another "company" (*s3*) of men. Women of any standing in the community often served as chantresses in the "harem" (*hnrt*) of the deity, although it is hard to know whether the rotation that normally applied to male priests extended to them as well. Clergy of middling rank ("god's fathers," lector priests, and the like) also seem to have functioned mainly in secular jobs, although their duties, being more prestigious, may have been more regular as well as more highly paid. Most of these "ordinary" priests seem to have held commensurate positions in the government or the god's "estate," which was itself set up as a miniature of the central administration, with overseers, stewards, and scribes charged with its own granary, cattle, and divine offerings.<sup>135</sup>

At the upper end of the clerical pecking order were the "gods' servants" (*hnmw-ntr*).<sup>136</sup> These were men of some standing, but the only ones we know to have been permanently employed were a small group of high priests. At the top of this hierarchy was the titular "first god's servant" of the deity, sometimes assisted by a few subordinates—the best known being the second, third, and fourth prophets of Amon at Thebes, although a few secondary high priests are also attested from other parts of the country.<sup>137</sup> In any case, these chief priests far outranked the rest of the clergy and made up the governing body of the god's estate. For all this apparent split between ordinary and professional clergy, however, it seems likely that both groups were bound by common ties of self-interest. Since some of the lower priestly offices could be held within the same family for generations,<sup>138</sup> the conventional wish "that the son be in the place of his father" was evidently within reach for many people. The clergy's solidarity, one suspects, lay in its mem-

135. Kees (1953) 48–62; Helck (1982b).

136. The standard translation of this term as "prophet" is misleading in English and will be retained in the following discussion for convenience only.

137. Kees (1953) 10–29, 62–69.

138. See n. 51 and the text preceding it in this chapter. Cf. also the porter of Amon named Nefru, whose father had served in the same company: see Helck (1955–58) 1951–53 = idem (1961) 331–33.



bers' access to such prestige and profit that accrued to divine service. How or whether such an interest group would react when its interests were put at risk by the royal will is totally obscure. No hint of conflict between cults or with the government emerges from the bland official records that form the bulk of our sources—only an Akhenaten would allude darkly to things “that were worse than those that I heard of” previously—and one can only speculate whether the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty witnessed anything like the troubles between state and temple that would flare up later, under the Saite rulers during the sixth century.

Pride of place in the religious establishment of the Eighteenth Dynasty goes to the estate of Amon—not merely because we know so much more about it than the others, but on account of the titular supremacy with which it was invested over the other priesthoods in Egypt. Ever since the reign of Hatshepsut, Amon's high priests regularly held the position “overseer of the prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt.”<sup>139</sup> While we have no idea how real this oversight was in practice, it reflects even in symbolic terms a favored status for the Amon cult. Also indicative of considerable standing are the titles of granary and treasury chief, held by high priests in the middle of the dynasty, although we can presume that these titles were honorific by token of that official's control over the massive estate of Amon. Given the power vested in this position, it is especially interesting that none of its holders managed to keep it in his family. With few exceptions, most high priests were sons of low- or middle-rank clergymen, and seldom had they attained to high rank themselves before their elevation. Only one man in the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, Menkheperresonb, had served in the upper hierarchy of Amon (as second prophet) before he was appointed first prophet in the later reign of Thutmose III.<sup>140</sup> An extreme example of the high priests' more typical background is one Amenemhet, in the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who was appointed first prophet after having achieved only the office of pure priest at the age of fifty-four.<sup>141</sup> While a son of a high clergyman in another cult might occasionally be raised to the top of Amon's hierarchy, none of his high priests in the Eighteenth Dynasty passed the office on to the next generation: on his death, his family receded into the decent obscurity from which it had come. The pharaohs must have realized the power they were bestowing on each of the high priests they chose so carefully.

139. Lefebvre (1929) 67–103, 228–43; Kees (1953) 10–18.

140. Lefebvre (1929) 234. First prophets were drawn from the ranks of lesser high priests more frequently in the Ramesside period: see Kees (1953) 317–22.

141. Helck (1955–58) 1409.18 = idem (1961) 83; Bryan (1991) 267 and n. 198.

Nothing illustrates the erratic preservation of ancient sources better than the paucity of our records concerning the hierarchy of Amon in the four decades when Amenhotep III sat on the throne of Egypt. Apart from Ptahmose, whose problematic tenure has been discussed earlier in this chapter, only one high priest is known to have served during his reign. This was Meriptah, who was already in office in year 20, when he witnessed the appointment of the “chief measurer of Amon” Nebnefer “in his position at the *shena* of the divine offerings of Amon.”<sup>142</sup> Such a middling official must have been well connected to draw the distinguished guests who attended his installation in office: not only the first prophet of Amon but two stewards—including Sobeknakht, chief steward of Amon (see n. 70)—and the three other leading “prophets” of Amon's hierarchy are named as being present. The careers of these subordinate high priests during the later Eighteenth Dynasty provide an interesting contrast with those of their superior. For example, the third prophet Amenemhet succeeded his own father in this office,<sup>143</sup> something no first prophet of Amon had yet been able to do. Other men worked their way up from the ranks of ordinary priests and then progressed through the lower hierarchy of Amon.

Simut, for instance, began his career as an ordinary pure priest, first as one of the porters of the god's processional shrine and then rising to lead this group as “first king's son of Amon.” His tenure as fourth prophet extended over two decades, at least from Amenhotep III's twentieth year into the early reign of Amenhotep IV, when he appears in the vizier Ramose's funeral procession. From inscriptions in his tomb on the west bank of Thebes, we know that he ended his life as the second prophet of Amon. Unfortunately, the tomb's location was lost after its discovery in the nineteenth century, so it is impossible to judge whether Simut died before the cataclysm that swept through the estate of Amon later in Akhenaten's reign.<sup>144</sup> Typically for people of this class, his family continued to do honorable service in Amon's priesthood: Simut's son followed in his father's earlier footsteps as “great pure priest [before] Amon, attached to the second company [in the rota].” It is, unfortunately, also typical that surviving records are too few for us to verify our impression that Simut's career was fairly characteristic for his time and station. Such an assessment is further complicated by the anomalous position of the second prophet in the hierarchy of Amon, for Ahmose, founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, had placed this office under the authority

142. Helck (1955–58) 1885–86 = idem (1961) 301.

143. Bryan (1991) 296; cf. Gaballa (1970).

144. Helck (1955–58) 1950 = idem (1961) 331; Porter and Moss (1960) 454 (A. 24). Cf. Aldred (1959a) 113–16; Redford (1967) 132–41.



of the "god's wife of Amon" as part of the endowment for that new post in the hierarchy.<sup>145</sup> We do not know how appointments to second prophet were influenced by this arrangement during most of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Under Amenhotep III, however, this ancient right of the royal females must have supplied the legal pretext for installing Anen, the brother of Queen Tiye, as second prophet of Amon.<sup>146</sup> His tenure overlapped that of Simut, the "fourth prophet" who must have succeeded as "second god's servant" when Anen died, almost certainly in the early years of Amenhotep IV.

Less is known about the "gods' houses" outside Thebes.<sup>147</sup> For instance, while a few high priests of Ra (called "Greatest of Seers") are known in this period, it is unclear how their duties were divided between the cult's traditional headquarters at Heliopolis and other cities.<sup>148</sup> More is known about the high priests of Ptah, the "chiefs of the master craftsmen" in Memphis, despite the confusing preference most of them had for the name *Ptahmose*.<sup>149</sup> Those whom we know from Amenhotep III's time were very much a part of the "establishment." Ptahmose "4," who served in the first part of the reign, was a son of the vizier Thutmose and full brother of Meriptah, the steward of Amenhotep III's mortuary temple. Another relative, Thutmose "5," held the office toward the end of Amenhotep III's life. Like the house of Heby, this family succeeded in maintaining niches for its members in both the north and the south: not only was Meriptah in charge of the king's "mansion of millions of years" on the west of Thebes, but he was also "Sem in the house of Ptah" and "chief of the master craftsmen in Southern Heliopolis"—in other words, the high priest of the Theban cult of Ptah, and a perfect foil for his relatives who exercised the superior office in Memphis.<sup>150</sup>

The Amarna revolution has cast its shadow backward, so that scholars have made much of the Amon cult's preponderance over others and speculated on the impact of the state's religious policy toward the temples. It is thus worth remembering how little we know about the operations of any of the religious establishments during the Eighteenth Dynasty. When Amenhotep III installed his young son Thutmose as high priest of Ptah in Memphis, for example, no attack on the privileges of the Memphite clergy can be

145. Harari (1956); Menu (1971); Gitton (1976); Menu (1977).

146. Helck (1975c).

147. Among the exceptions is Taitai, high priest of the god Horus of Hebenu in Middle Egypt: see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) no. 42, entry by Bryan.

148. See in general Moursi (1972); Schmitz (1977).

149. Anthes (1936); Bosse-Griffiths (1955); Wildung (1977a); Murnane (1992). The various Ptahmoses will be distinguished in this discussion by Anthes' numbering system.

150. Helck (1955–58) 1954. Another Theban high priest of Ptah, Paury, probably served earlier: see *ibid.* 1857; Kees (1953) 29, 62.

inferred with any confidence, for the position reverted after the prince's death to Ptahmose "5," a relative of the former high priest Thutmose "4."<sup>151</sup> The drift of royal policy with respect to the mightier estate of Amon is equally obscure. The influx of Memphite families into responsible positions at Thebes need not be part of an effort to check the Theban god's power, and the interactions of a Meriptah with his neighbors, the hierarchy of Amon, cannot be known. Certainly the Amon cult did not fare badly in material ways under Amenhotep III. Many of his additions to the estate of Amon at Karnak, Luxor, and West Thebes remain visible today;<sup>152</sup> and one of the largesses of Amenhotep III's first jubilee was a decree that benefited large numbers of "the people of Thebes who were subordinates in the king's house, that they might be exempt (from other obligations to the government), serving as priests unto eternity for Amon."<sup>153</sup> Even if this was only the formal reissue of a long-standing exemption, it is hardly a sign of royal disfavor toward Thebes or its god. Changes in the Amon cult's supervisory powers with respect to other clergies are apparent, but their significance is far from clear. While the high priest of Amon was "overseer of the priests of Upper and Lower Egypt," it is not clear what this meant in practice; and we are equally at sea when we try to derive meaning from the title's distribution or its variants in the later Eighteenth Dynasty. In the two generations before Amenhotep III, for example, this office was regularly held by all high priests of Amon, including Ptahmose; but Ptahmose was also "overseer of the priests of all the gods," a title that Meriptah, his successor, also held, although he did not hold the title "overseer of the priests of Upper and Lower Egypt."<sup>154</sup> In this same general period, however, the post of overseer of priests of Upper and Lower Egypt was given to a number of other officials—to the scribe of recruits Horemheb under Thutmose IV,<sup>155</sup> and in his son's time to Thutmose "4," high priest of Ptah (early reign), and to the vizier Ramose (during its last decade). This could be an effort to diminish the Amon clergy's power, but the details are unclear. Was the supervisory office divided, for instance, or rotated among a group of officials? That Ptahmose held it after Horemheb did might suggest the latter, but it is not certain that the office returned to Ptahmose as high priest, for he could have held it as vizier. The distinction between the traditional title "overseer of Priests of

151. Dodson (1990); Murnane (1992).

152. Many of these works, as well as others, are covered in the building inscription that Amenhotep III left at his Theban mortuary temple: see Lichtheim (1976) 43–48.

153. Varille (1968) 19–24; Van Siclen (1973) 296–99.

154. Lefebvre (1929) 241–42.

155. Bryan (1991) 272–74.



Upper and Lower Egypt" and its apparent variant "overseer of all the gods" is also unclear: while both imply a sweeping authority over priests in all the cults, this bland ambiguity might have been deliberately introduced to save appearances in public.<sup>156</sup> In sum, while the evidence of change is patent, we may never know enough about the meaning behind the change to understand the maneuvering between king and cults that led up to Akhenaten's revolution.

#### Life at Court and the Administration of the King's House

The royal estate, like the temple, was a model of the central administration writ small. In theory it could have embraced all of Egypt and its empire, for the ultimate owner of all these lands was the king. In fact, much of the country's real property was normally made over to fund the ongoing needs of government departments and other foundations (including the temples), so the "king's house" restricted itself in practice to the upkeep of the palace and personal service to the king. Its staff thus may be divided into two basic groups: those charged with the economic management of the king's privy purse, and palace officials who saw to the ruler's comfort and acted as intermediaries between him and the world at large.

The comptroller of the privy purse was the pharaoh's chief steward, "the great overseer of the king's house." By the late Eighteenth Dynasty this task was being handled by a separate official in each of the two main divisions of the country. At Thebes, the care of the king's property was held for at least part of Amenhotep III's reign by Amenemhet, nicknamed Surer. Though this man may have ended his career in disfavor—vandals had wrecked his tomb chapel before Akhenaten's agents came to remove the old gods from its walls—he had been a powerful force in his time. Like many of his contemporaries in the upper ranks of government, he came from an established family: his father had been overseer of the cattle of Amon (a title Surer would inherit) and his mother's status at court was reflected in her honorific title, "ornament of (?) the king." Such a background was no doubt useful, not only to Surer but to his brother Setau, who became second prophet in the cult of Neith—whether at the goddess's hometown in the Delta or in one of her provincial temples is uncertain. In any case, Surer prospered in his career with the estate of Amon, acquiring more administrative titles than his father had held. Perhaps this combination of connections and experience qualified

156. Later usage is no help, for both titles were intermittently given to high priests during the Ramesside period, although in some cases it is specified that only the clergy "of Thebes" (or "of the south") were to be under his supervision: see Lefebvre (1929) 246–71.

him to become the king's chief steward and brought him into the orbit of the palace, where he served as "chief in the house of the morning" (the royal robing room) and as one of the scribes attached to the king's person. He was still in office during Amenhotep III's first jubilee, in year 30, but the details of his later life or his disgrace (if such it was) are all unknown.<sup>157</sup>

Another chief steward, named Re, was also a considerable figure but is harder to assess. His statue from Memphis records that he had been a granary chief "of the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt" as well as the king's chief steward, but only on weak evidence is he connected to the near contemporaries who bore the same name.<sup>158</sup> A more significant record, however, was left by the two chief stewards who ran the "king's house" at Memphis. Amenhotep (also called Huy) was another "insider": he was a son of Heby the quondam mayor of Memphis, and he was the elder brother of the vizier Ramose. His tenure falls in the second half of his master's reign.<sup>159</sup> As "great king's steward in White Walls" (= Memphis) he was a titular chief of the double treasury and granary, as well as being "overseer of all the crafts of the king" in workshops attached to his domains. On occasion he also acted as the king's representative to the Memphite temples, as a "festival leader of Ptah . . . and all the gods of White Walls." His supervisory role over "the priests of the Mansion of Sekhmet," Ptah's lioness-headed consort, may have been honorific; but in his financial capacity as steward, Huy was required "to direct the work in (Amenhotep III's) mansion of millions of years, which His [Majesty] made as a new thing on the floodplain [to] the west of Hikuptah (= the Ptah temple) on the edge of Ankhtowy (= Memphis)."<sup>160</sup> This building, which was the Memphite counterpart of Amenhotep III's great temple on the west bank of Thebes and was dedicated to his cult as a divine being, is attested as early as year 26, but we have no idea when it was built or how long Huy had been in office previously. He clearly did well in office, for his monuments record that he received funerary endowments from the revenues set aside for royal statues and even from the main temple of Ptah.<sup>161</sup>

The steward Amenhotep survived at least through his master's first jubilee and passed his office on to his son, Ipy. Such succession was not usual at this

157. Säve-Söderbergh (1957) 34–36; Helck (1958) 367–68, 482–83 (12).

158. Helck (1958) 371, 500 (9). The identity with Re, the "scribe who counts the grain of pharaoh" in Khaemhet's tomb, which would place Re's tenure very late under Amenhotep III, is baseless. There is also no good reason to identify him with another Re, who served as herald (and treasurer?) under Thutmose IV and into the reign of his son: see n. 39 and the text preceding it in this chapter.

159. Helck (1958) 368–70, 483–85 (14).

160. Helck (1955–58) 1795.5–6 = idem (1961) 260.

161. Helck (1955–58) 1797, 1801–2 = idem (1961) 261, 263.



upper level of government and indicates how well entrenched the family was in royal favor. There is no good reason for thinking that Ipy had been installed as chief steward alongside his father;<sup>162</sup> but he showed his family's gift for survival by successfully extending his tenure from the old king's declining years into the turbulent reign of his son. It was Ipy who wrote the now famous report in Amenhotep IV's year 5 in which he notified the king that both state and temple property at Memphis was in good order—and who filed both copies away when it was clear that the imminent foundation of the Aten's cult center at Amarna had driven such mundane considerations from the king's mind.<sup>163</sup> From Memphis Ipy went on to serve as steward and "overseer of the inner palace of pharaoh in Akhet-Aten," although he still kept his title "steward of Memphis." One of the few individuals at Amarna whose careers can be traced any earlier, he was the owner of a fine house there, and he even received the more exceptional honor of being granted a tomb in his master's new capital—clear evidence of the favor his loyalty earned him in Akhenaten's "new order."<sup>164</sup> Ipy drops out of sight in the post-Amarna age—but by then he would have been middle-aged, at least, and even cats, and chameleons, have to die.

Unlike the steward, who was involved in administering all the property of the "king's house," the overseer of the seal (*jmy-r htm*) managed the contents of the palace treasury. The *Duties of the Vizier* shows him meeting with the vizier every morning at the gate of the king's house: the two exchange status reports on the condition and security of the palace compound, and the vizier then opens the "Gold House"—the storerooms and ateliers of the palace—for the privy seal.<sup>165</sup> Many of these officials seem to have spent their earlier careers in palace administration, a background that gave them enough familiarity with its operations to control its many sources of supply and expenditure.<sup>166</sup> A number of powerful men had held the office of privy seal earlier in

162. Despite Helck (1958) 370 n. 1.

163. Wente (1990) 28–29; cf. idem (1980).

164. See Helck (1958) 370 and 485 (15) for the essential information on Ipy's career. As noted by Kemp (1989) 314–15, closeness to the king must have counted a great deal in determining which officials were singled out to receive the small number of private tomb sites awarded at Amarna (relative to the official population).

165. Van den Boorn (1988) 55, 61–62, 70–73. For the preeminence of the chief steward over the privy seal in the New Kingdom, see Helck (1958) 80–82.

166. See *ibid.* 466–70. Ahmose Pen-Nekheh and Sennefer were both heralds; and Meryre, under Amenhotep III, had been a doorkeeper and steward of the king. The task of supplying festival outlays for the temples, which were at least partly paid by the "king's house," was also coordinated by the privy seal and is occasionally reflected in such titles as "one who provides the sacrifices (*mh' jbw*) of all the gods."

the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>167</sup> If its two known occupants under Amenhotep III seem to be lesser figures, this is perhaps because we know so little about them.<sup>168</sup> Meryre, probably the earlier of the two, may have earned his place in the administration by earlier service as an "overseer of nursing of the [king's] son" Siatum.<sup>169</sup> Prahmose, his likely successor, held a minor position in the cattle administration of the estate of Amon, either before he assumed the office of privy seal or as a sinecure connected with it. He was in office during Amenhotep III's first Sed Festival, but otherwise we know little about his career.

One official whom we would expect to have close ties to both the king's steward and his personal treasurer was the steward of Amenhotep III's mortuary temple in West Thebes. The sole holder of this position was Meriptah, whom we have already met in his capacity as high priest of the Theban cult of Ptah. He was also, as we have seen, exceedingly well connected: he was the son of Thutmose (who had been vizier earlier in the dynasty) and a brother of Prahmose "4," the high priest of Ptah at Memphis during the first part of Amenhotep III's reign; and he was related to his eventual successor at the reign's end, Prahmose "5." His tenure extended to the very end of his master's life, for deliveries in his name are attested in years 34 and 37, during the second and third jubilees that Amenhotep III celebrated in his palace complex in West Thebes.<sup>170</sup> Meriptah, in turn, would have had much to do with the men who supervised the construction of the building in his charge: the twin brothers Suty and Hor, who between them managed all royal construction projects on the east and West Thebes;<sup>171</sup> and the "overseer of works in the Red Mountain" Men, who quarried two famous colossi of Amenhotep III from the quartzite quarry at the Gebel Ahmar, near Heliopolis far in the north, and transported them across the length of Egypt to their places at the entrance of the king's mortuary temple.<sup>172</sup>

Operational as opposed to economic management in the king's house belonged to a variety of palace officials: the "overseer of the audience cham-

167. In addition to Ahmose Pen-Nekheh and Sennefer, the treasurers Min and Sobekhotep formed a "dynasty" from the later reign of Thutmose III to the time of Thutmose IV; and Sobekhotep acquired the hereditary mayoralty of the Fayum by marriage: see Helck (1958) 352–53; Bryan (1991) 103–5, 245–46.

168. Helck (1958) 353–54, 469–70 (10–11).

169. For the tomb of Meryre at Saqqara, see Zivie (1983), (1984–85). Cf., for Prince Siatum, Bryan (1991) 66, 247; Dodson-Janssen (1989) 136–37.

170. Helck (1955–58) 1954 bottom = idem (1961) 333.

171. Helck (1955–58) 1943–49; Lichtheim (1976) 86–89.

172. Helck (1955–58) 1942–43 = idem (1961) 327–28. Inhermose, the "works scribe of the mansion of Nebmaatira on the west of Thebes," was also involved in the temple's construction: see Helck (1955–58) 1941 bottom.



ber" (*jmy-r 'hntj*), chamberlains (*jmyw-hnt*, "those who are in front"), supervisors of the magazines where different categories of supplies were kept, and overseers of the various parts of the inner palace.<sup>173</sup> This last jurisdiction included the so-called king's harem (*jpt-nswt*), which was not exclusively the province of the king's wives and concubines but was a women's quarter that housed the female attendants at court and employed them, when they were not at their ceremonial tasks, in crafting manufactures for use about the palace.<sup>174</sup> In more regular contact with the king were the cupbearers (*wbzw*), who saw to his comfort both in the palace and on royal progresses or campaigns. Theirs was no menial job, for many of these servants would go on to higher positions in later life<sup>175</sup> and owed some of their advantages to a connection with the king. Some of these individuals were related to royal nurses or tutors,<sup>176</sup> while others had actually been brought up with the future pharaoh at court. The status acquired by these youthful companions was recognized by the title "child of the inner palace" (*hrd n k3 p*), which almost certainly indicated that its holders had grown up at court in close proximity to the king. Exalted though this circle was—one suspects it was the more privileged male counterpart of the female "harem" (*jpt*)—it was neither closed nor self-perpetuating: not all high officials had been members, and some "children of the inner palace" rose only to minor posts in the government. Its ranks no doubt included foreign vassals' sons who were sent, as sureties for their fathers' good behavior, to get their education in Egypt; and a few foreigners who later made their careers in Egypt held the title—notably a Nubian, Maiherperi ("Lion on the Battlefield"), who died young and was given a splendid burial in the Valley of the Kings by his friend the pharaoh. Race, it seems, was not a barrier at all: the "children of the inner palace" included not only sons of foreign princes but Egyptians of Asiatic descent. No matter what their background, however, or the direction of their later careers, the "old boys" who grew up in the palace continued to take pride in their identity and flaunted their title throughout their adult lives.<sup>177</sup>

Royal residences in different parts of Egypt apparently had their own stewards: at the Malqata complex in West Thebes (called "Gleaming is Ra"

173. Helck (1958) 252–68. One palace official contemporary of Amenhotep III, the "great chamberlain in the Great House" Amenhotep, was himself the son of a chamberlain and was evidently involved in the ceremonial dressing of the king and the supervision of palace workshops: see Helck (1955–58) 1936–1939 = idem (1961) 325–26.

174. Seipel (1977a). For Userhat, the "overseer of the king's harem" under Amenhotep III, see Helck (1955–58) 1880 = idem (1961) 299.

175. Helck (1958) 268–76; cf. Gessler-Löhr (1990).

176. Bryan (1979).

177. Feucht (1985). For Maiherperi see Reeves (1990b) 140–47.

or "the Aten") presided one Nefersekheru—a busy man, one imagines, during the decade that saw three Sed Festivals celebrated on the premises he managed, for he was awarded a series of titles that trumpeted his role in the rites.<sup>178</sup> In addition, the more important members of the royal family had their own households within the royal estate. Akhenaten's plans for his new city at Amarna would include separate residences (*pryt*) for himself and his queen, Nefertiti; and in the previous generation a similar household, belonging to Amenhotep III's "great royal wife," Tiye, employed the steward Kheruef. His service to the queen must have brought him into regular contact with her husband, and Amenhotep III's Sed Festivals—all of which the steward attended—formed the apex of his career, to judge from the detailed tableaux from the first and third jubilees that decorate the portico of Kheruef's tomb at Thebes.<sup>179</sup> Such careers as these illustrate how experience in managing men and/or materiel in subordinate positions might be recognized in making senior appointments. Nefersekheru's earlier service had included a stint as scribe of the ruler's table; and Kheruef, like many of his colleagues in the higher ranks of government, had been "first king's herald," a grandiose-sounding job in English, but one that blended the roles of an intermediary and a policeman. As implied by his title (*whmw*, "one who repeats"), the herald transmitted orders from the king or his representatives to the appropriate underlings, and he was the officer who first received all revenues coming into the "king's house." The shadow side of his office lay in arresting malefactors and in compelling attendance at trials and hearings. Within the orbit of the palace, then, the herald both coordinated essential activities and enforced conformity, in much the same way as his counterpart in the world at large, the chief of the Medjay police.<sup>180</sup>

### Zenith of a Golden Age

One morning in the month of May, during Amenhotep III's jubilee year 30, "the officials, the king's f[riends], the chamberlain, the men of the gateway, the king's acquaintances, the crew of the bark, the castellans, and the king's dignitaries" met the king at the great double doors of the palace.

Rewards were made of the Gold of Praise, and ducks and fish of gold, and they received ribbons of green linen, each person being made to

178. Helck (1955–58) 1881–83 = idem (1961) 299–300. His tomb, unfinished and still unpublished, has some of the most exquisite carving in Thebes: see Porter and Moss (1960) 224–25 (107).

179. Epigraphic Survey (1980).

180. Helck (1958) 65–70.



stand according to his rank. (They) were fed with food of the king's breakfast: bread, beer, oxen, and fowl. (They) were directed to the lake of His Majesty to row in the bark of the king. They grasped the tow-ropes of the evening bark and the prowrope of the morning bark, and they towed the barks at the great place. They stopped at the steps of the throne.

One of these lucky individuals was the queen's steward Kheruef, who received a gold collar. Nefersekheru, the steward of the palace at Malqata and "director of the two thrones in the undertaking of the jubilee," was undoubtedly present as well. The granary chief Khaemhet may also have participated, as "priest of Anubis on the jubilee day of the first Sed Festival of His Majesty."<sup>181</sup> Khaemwast, the military official in Egypt's northern empire who could "approach in the first jubilee of His Majesty,"<sup>182</sup> may have journeyed from his home in the Delta for the great event. The lector priest Nebmerutef had come with the delegation from his hometown of Hermopolis and could observe events from his ritualist's station;<sup>183</sup> and (if he was present) the "chief of works in the Sed Festival temple" Minemheb<sup>184</sup> could look on the proceedings with justifiable pride—for "generations [of] people since the time of the ancestors had never celebrated (such) rites of the jubilee."<sup>185</sup>

The most prominent role in preparing for the Sed Festival had been played not by the pharaoh or even the most exalted officials of his administration but by a relatively modest bureaucrat who nonetheless outranked all others under the king. Amenhotep son of Hapu<sup>186</sup> came from Athribis, a city in the south-central Delta. His family held a respectable but not stellar position in local society, and he himself had spent the better part of his life in decent obscurity. Then, somehow, he had been noticed by Amenhotep III, and his rise, by Egyptian standards, became meteoric. His first appointment was to the king's personal secretariat, where he busied himself in ferreting out the arcana of religious tradition in "the god's book." This research, which would eventually be applied to the king's exercise of ritual and particularly to his jubilees, allowed the regime to cloak its activities in a soothing antiquarianism—for a system that used religious precedent to legitimize itself could not

181. Helck (1955–58) 1851.10.

182. Ibid. 1932.19.

183. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) no. 41, entry by Bryan.

184. Ibid. no. 40, entry by Bryan.

185. For this and the preceding quotations from the tomb of Kheruef, see Epigraphic Survey (1980) 43 (pl. 28).

186. For materials and discussion on his career, see Varille (1968); Murnane (1991). Cf. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) no. 44, entry by Berman; Berman in *ibid.* 45–48.

resist even startling innovations, provided these were grounded in ancient usages that embodied, for this anxious modern age, a holier and less complicated past.

Having distinguished himself as the king's chief ideologist, Amenhotep next applied his considerable talents to implementing his king's plans. As chief of recruits, he controlled the entire manpower of Egypt (see n. 104) and directed it into some of the most ambitious public-works projects conceived by any pharaoh. Not since the great Thutmose III had a king's building program left such an enduring mark, and Amenhotep III ranged wider, constructing and embellishing temples all over Egypt and far south into Nubia. At Thebes, the most conspicuous of his surviving works were personally managed by the son of Hapu, who took special pride in the colossal statues he transported to their destinations at Karnak and in front of his master's funerary temple in West Thebes. In recognition of his uncommon versatility, Amenhotep played a major part in his king's first Sed Festival. In the rituals themselves, he assumed the role of the pharaoh's heir—the alter ego of the king, as he was led through the rites of renewal at the jubilee's core. A special reward ceremony was arranged for him on the last day of the festival; and earlier during the jubilee season, he had acted as the king's representative to the mighty estate of Amon at Thebes. As "festival leader"—an honorary priest's title bestowed on civil and military officers to give them a privileged standing within the clergies of Egypt<sup>187</sup>—Amenhotep announced the king's exemption decree for the Theban god's servants (see n. 153). In his person, as in all he did, Amenhotep must have made an impression on his contemporaries: "I have reached eighty years, greatly praised before the king," he says on a statue that he dedicated at Karnak near the time of his last triumphs, "and I will complete one hundred and ten years!" Given his exceptional vigor and achievements, contemporaries might well have agreed that if anyone could reach this traditional limit of a "good old age" in Egypt, Amenhotep would.

The son of Hapu's most extraordinary honor, however, went beyond even this unusual accumulation of mortal honors. Unlike any of his contemporaries or his predecessors in the Eighteenth Dynasty, he was granted a funerary temple of his own—a building located beside his master's temple, in the "king's row" of royal cult establishments at the edge of the desert on the west of Thebes. Although such temples were expected to perpetuate their owners' memory for all eternity, few of them ever came close to doing so. In all too many cases, their endowments were redirected by later rulers strapped for

187. Kees (1953) 46–47, 322; Bryan (1991) 258.



cash, and the very buildings were quarried for raw materials to be used in newer foundations. This had already begun to happen to Amenhotep III's temple by the thirteenth century B.C.,<sup>188</sup> but at this time steps were taken to protect the son of Hapu's temple from just this fate. On a rectangular slab of limestone, now in the British Museum, a decree warned government officials not to interfere with the temple's personnel, "the exception thereto being the mayor of the west (of Thebes), who shall be able to call on these servants for a single day." The promulgation of this new arrangement, which is dated to the thirty-first year of Amenhotep III, ostensibly drew a number of prominent witnesses. The vizier Amenhotep was there, as was the "overseer of the house of gold" Meriptah. The record of the latter is a curious anomaly, for no such combination of name and title is otherwise known from Amenhotep III's reign, although the steward of Amenhotep III's mortuary temple might well have exercised this function in his own bailiwick. This, in fact, is the least of the document's anachronisms. It is written in a type of Egyptian and a handwriting that is characteristic for the Twenty-first Dynasty, centuries later than the purported date; and the mayor of West Thebes who benefits from this decree is not attested in office before the Nineteenth Dynasty. Even if authentic records in the Son of Hapu's temple archives were used to compose this document, in its present form it is clearly a forgery, backdated to strengthen whatever legal merits the institution had in its favor. That anyone would trouble to do this bears witness to a posthumous fame, both for Amenhotep and his royal master, that still endured in the later New Kingdom. Later generations would regard them less equally. As a local saint, Amenhotep the son of Hapu was still being worshiped in the Greco-Roman period,<sup>189</sup> while his former master was virtually forgotten, his temple devastated, and its quartzite colossi misattributed by the foreign tourists who came to see them.

The son of Hapu's singular career raises questions that might also be asked about the entire system of government under Amenhotep III. Given the religious policy of his regime (with its stress on the divinity of its "Dazzling Sun," the king), is there any reason to believe that the king's handling of institutions and officials anticipated what his son's revolution would do more drastically? The patterns that emerge from careers reviewed in this chapter are not clear: certainly there was no obvious rearrangement that consolidated royal power at the expense of any of the country's established authorities. What was taken away (e.g., the high priest of Amon's traditional

188. Sourouzian (1989) 162-67; cf. Haeny (1981) 86.

189. See Wildung (1977b), (1977c).

oversight of the clergy) was compensated by the granting of a similar title. Even if that new dignity was a pretense, designed to maintain public dignity at the expense of the high priest's power, this was part of the normal balancing act that the pharaohs had always used to achieve harmony within the administration. Perhaps the advancement of the son of Hapu was intended in the same way. When the king raised a subject up so high and so arbitrarily, did he not call attention to himself as the ultimate source of these benefits, even as he sought to identify himself with the divine power of creation during the last decade of his reign?<sup>190</sup> Such a policy might have succeeded under the veneer of tradition and through a skillful manipulation of the existing system. Regrettably, Amenhotep III's son proved less adept at this than his father, and he would plunge the monarchy into a crisis that would barely be repaired by the "Sun Disk's" residual prestige two generations later.

190. See Johnson (1990), (1993).



## Chapter 7

### The World Abroad

*James M. Weinstein, Eric H. Cline, Kenneth A. Kitchen,  
and David O'Connor*

#### Egypt and the Levant in the Reign of Amenhotep III

*James M. Weinstein*

Amenhotep III came to the throne at a propitious moment in the history of Egyptian imperialism. His Eighteenth Dynasty royal predecessors had carved out a west Asiatic empire that by the early fourteenth century B.C. encompassed all of Palestine, the Phoenician coast up to the area of Ugarit, and inland Syria at least as far north as Qatna. They also had established a formal bureaucratic structure to govern the conquered territories and had forged a peaceful relationship with Egypt's only serious Near Eastern adversary of the period, the Hurrian state of Mitanni in northern Syria.<sup>1</sup>

The military and diplomatic achievements of the early Eighteenth Dynasty kings (especially Thutmose III) had made it unnecessary for Amenhotep III's two immediate predecessors—Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV—to undertake more than a few "mopping up" operations. Campaigns in the seventh and ninth years of Amenhotep II's reign yielded nearly ninety thousand prisoners.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, Thutmose IV led at least one foray against Naharin (Mitanni). Perhaps as part of the same campaign, the king seized the town of Gezer in western Palestine, from whence he took Hurrian captives to be settled as workers in his mortuary temple complex at Thebes.<sup>3</sup>

Although there is insufficient archaeological data to assess the consequences of the Egyptian military operations of the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C. for the urban population of Syria, their deleterious effect on town life in the south is clear. The large towns of Palestine were reduced both

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1. For recent summaries of the rise of the Egyptian Empire, see Redford (1992) 125–69; Weinstein (1981) 1–15.

2. Amer (1984). The Asiatics mentioned in Amenhotep II's text are the people of Shasu, Kharu, and Nukhashshe, as well as 21,670 families.

3. Bryan (1991) 336–47.



in size and number, and there is no indication of prosperity anywhere in the region in the late fifteenth century B.C. (the Late Bronze IB period).<sup>4</sup> Recovery from more than a century of Egyptian military conquest and exploitation came to Late Bronze Age Palestine only in the fourteenth century B.C. (the Late Bronze IIA period), with the expansion of international trade. This rejuvenation was only partial, however, for the country never returned to the condition of urban stability and military strength that it had achieved during the Middle Bronze Age.

Egypt's domination of the Levant during the Late Bronze Age had reached its apex when Amenhotep III became king. There was no question of a single vassal, or even a confederation of vassals, mounting a successful challenge to Egyptian authority. There also was no threat to the empire from any of the contemporary western Asiatic superpowers (Hatti, Mitanni, Assyria, or Babylonia). Amenhotep III's long reign was the only period in the long history of the New Kingdom Empire when a situation so favorable to Egypt's imperial interests existed in the Levant. As a result, not once during his nearly four decades on the throne did the king have to lead an Egyptian army onto Asiatic soil.<sup>5</sup>

#### Egypt and the Great Powers

In 1887 several hundred clay tablets were accidentally discovered by a peasant woman in the ruins of Amarna.<sup>6</sup> Excavations conducted later at the site (in a building whose full name was the Office of the Letters of Pharaoh—Life, Prosperity, Health) as well as clandestine digging by locals have raised the total number of tablets recovered to 380. Nearly all of the tablets are inscribed in cuneiform script in the Babylonian language, the *lingua franca* of

4. Gonen has shown that while many new small settlements arose in Palestine during the fourteenth century B.C., there were also many fewer large urban centers than in previous times; see Gonen (1984). Finkelstein cites an unpublished estimate that the population of Palestine west of the Jordan went from about 140,000 in the Middle Bronze Age to about 60,000–70,000 in the Late Bronze Age, a drop of at least 50 percent; see Finkelstein (1988) 341. Some of this decline took place in the sixteenth century B.C., some in the fifteenth.

5. The two topographical lists preserved from the king's reign—at Soleb (Givon [1964]; additional bibliography in Ahituv [1984] 14) and Kom el-Hetan (Edel [1966]; see also Ahituv [1981] and [1984] 15)—while impressive in their rosters of place-names from Asia (and, in the case of the Kom el-Hetan list, the Aegean), reflect no military conquests and should be looked at in the context of Egypt's wider international relations during the early fourteenth century B.C.

6. The bibliography for the Amarna archive is enormous. Excellent English translations of all of these inscriptions have recently been published by Moran (1992). An up-to-date survey of the Amarna Letters, with a good bibliography, is available in Na'aman (1992).

the Near East in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>7</sup> The great majority of the documents are letters addressed to the Egyptian royal court from the major rulers of western Asia and the vassal princes of Syria-Palestine. A much smaller number of tablets contain archival copies of correspondence dispatched from Egypt to those rulers, letters that were never transmitted, or nonepistolitic texts (such as myths and syllabaries).

The archive found at Amarna covers slightly less than three decades of Egyptian diplomatic history, from about the thirtieth year of Amenhotep III's rule to the abandonment of Amarna in regnal year 3 of Tutankhamun.<sup>8</sup> Most of the tablets date from the last years of Amenhotep III and the reign of his son and successor, Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV). It is likely that the tablets belonging to the time of Amenhotep III were transferred to Amarna when the foreign affairs operation at Thebes was closed. It is also reasonable to suppose that the tablets found at Amarna were those left behind when Tutankhamun vacated the city to take up residence at Memphis.

The letters containing exchanges between the pharaoh and the rulers of the great powers of western Asia—Babylonia and Assyria in Mesopotamia, Mitanni in northern Syria, Hatti and Arzawa in Asia Minor, and Alashiya (probably Cyprus)—number fewer than three dozen. These documents cover a variety of topics, including the routine exchange of greetings, requests and inquiries, discussions of diplomatic marriages, and the presentation of gifts (principally gold, ebony, linen, and oils from Egypt; copper, silver, semiprecious stones, and linen from western Asia and Alashiya). The letters belonging to the reign of Amenhotep III (especially those sent by Tušratta of Mitanni, Tarkhundaradu of Arzawa, and Kadašman-Enlil I of Babylonia) are free of expressions of hostility toward Egypt, reflecting the fact that none of these kingdoms were prepared at that point to contest Egypt's domination in the Levant. The monarchs of Egypt and Mitanni were even bound by a peace treaty, which probably was signed in the reign of Thutmose IV. As for the Hittites, their challenge to Egyptian authority in Syria would come after the death of Amenhotep III, in the reign of Akhenaten.

The Amarna Letters make mention of at least four marriages between

7. Letters sent from Egypt to one of the major powers were sometimes written in the native language of the ruler. E.g., Amarna Letters EA 31–32 ("EA" being the standard prefix used to identify all Amarna Letters), an exchange of letters regarding a proposed marriage between Amenhotep III and the daughter of the King of Arzawa, were both written in Hittite.

8. Considerable controversy exists regarding the precise dating of many of the tablets. Campbell (1964) chart E provides a convenient table showing the chronological positions of many of the letters.



Amenhotep III and west Asiatic princesses—two of whom were Babylonian, two Mitannian.<sup>9</sup> The former were daughters of the Mesopotamian rulers Kurigalzu and Kadašman-Enlil I; the latter were Gilukhepa, the daughter of Šuttarna II of Mitanni, and Tadukhepa, the daughter of Šuttarna's successor, Tušratta. Discussions regarding a fifth such marriage, between Amenhotep III and the daughter of the king of Arzawa, Tarkhundaradu, appear in two other letters in the Amarna collection. The marriages to Mitannian princesses were an especially important element in cementing relations between Egypt and that Syrian kingdom: a diplomatic marriage between Thutmose IV and the daughter of Artatama I of Mitanni had previously been employed to seal a treaty between those two countries. Diplomatic marriages between Egyptian kings and the daughters of foreign potentates were a one-way arrangement, however, for when Kadašman-Enlil I of Babylonia sought to marry a daughter of Amenhotep III, the king bluntly replied that no Egyptian princess had ever married a foreigner.<sup>10</sup>

#### Egypt and Its Levantine Vassals

The bulk of the Amarna archive consists of messages sent by the local mayors and princes of Syria-Palestine to Amenhotep III or Akhenaten; in contrast, only a few tablets contain responses from the pharaoh (who identifies himself as "the king," without an attached name). Prominent northern vassals in the reign of Amenhotep III included Rib-Adda of Byblos and the troublesome Abdi-Aširta of the territory of Amurru in southern Syria; important southern vassals at the time were Labayu of Shechem, Milkilu of Gezer, Biridiya of Megiddo, and Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem. The Amarna Letters are an invaluable source of information on the relations of the vassals to one another as well as to their Egyptian overlords. Because of their brevity as well as the fact that the names and titles of many Egyptian officials identified in the letters cannot be linked to specific individuals and titles known from Egyptian sources, the Amarna Letters are less helpful in elucidating the functional elements of the empire's organization and the administrative duties of the Egyptian bureaucrats responsible for maintaining it.

The Levantine territory within Egypt's imperial orbit appears to have been organized into three large administrative districts: Canaan, Upi, and

Amurru.<sup>11</sup> Canaan embraced most of Palestine as well as the Phoenician coast up to the region of Byblos; its Egyptian governor resided in Gaza. Upi encompassed the territory running from northern Transjordan through Upper Galilee and the southern portion of inland Syria (as far north as Kadesh on the Orontes River); the administrative center for this unit was Kumidi (identified with the site of Kamid el-Loz in the Beqa' Valley of southern Lebanon). Finally, the district of Amurru, with its administrative headquarters at Sumur (possibly to be identified with Tell Kazel on the Mediterranean coast), included coastal Syria from Byblos north to the area of Ugarit<sup>12</sup> and inland to the southern part of the Orontes River valley.

The Egyptian official with primary responsibility for administering this empire appears to have borne the title "overseer of all northern (foreign) lands."<sup>13</sup> His responsibilities included the maintenance of Egyptian authority, supervision of the local vassals, and control over the movement of goods to and from Egypt. At his disposal were a small number of garrisons and a modest bureaucracy dominated by military men, many of whom were of fairly low rank.<sup>14</sup> At least one overseer of all northern (foreign) lands is attested from the reign of Amenhotep III. That is Khaemwast, who is known from two pairs of statues found at Bubastis—one depicting him with his wife Khebwynenes, and a second showing him with another wife, Menena.<sup>15</sup> A second holder of the post from the reign of Amenhotep III may have been

11. The exact number of administrative units is not certain. Helck and most other scholars argue for three districts, Na'aman favors only two, and Hachmann favors four. See Helck (1971) 248–52; Na'aman (1981) 183; Hachmann (1982) 44–47. For some surveys of the administrative and historical situation in Syria-Palestine during the period of the Amarna Letters, see Hachmann (1982); Na'aman (1992); Redford (1992) 192–213.

12. Most scholars include Ugarit within the territory of Egyptian hegemony. For an opposite view, see Altman (1976).

13. The names of only a few holders of this post are preserved; these are listed by Groll (1983) 236. The title *rabisu* in the Amarna Letters evidently referred to this official as well as to officials of lesser rank (Moran [1992] xxvi n. 70).

14. For the various titles held by Egyptian officers in the administration of the Levant, see Redford (1990) 19, chart on 20. It is remarkable how few Egyptian troops were required to maintain order in the west Asiatic empire. In Amarna Letter EA 71:23–28, e.g., Rib-Adda of Byblos asks Amenhotep III for only fifty pairs of horses and two hundred infantrymen for defense against Abdi-Aširta of Amurru. In Amarna Letter EA 127:35–39, the same Byblite ruler asks Akhenaten for one hundred men, one hundred soldiers from Kush, and thirty chariots to protect his city, while in Amarna Letter EA 289:37–43, Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem requests that Akhenaten send him fifty garrison troops for protection. The mention of Kushite soldiers in Amarna Letter EA 127 is one of several references in the Amarna Letters to Nubian troops serving in the Levant.

15. For Khaemwast with Khebwynenes, see Habachi (1957) 95–97, pls. 28–29; for Khaemwast with Menena, see *ibid.* 104–6, pls. 39–40, 41A.

9. See Schulman (1979); Zaccagnini (1985). The forthcoming marriage of an unidentified Egyptian king to the daughter of a vassal prince is mentioned in Amarna Letter EA 99.

10. Amarna Letter EA 4. This rule was not broken until the tenth century B.C., when an unnamed pharaoh—perhaps the Twenty-first Dynasty king Siamun (978–959 B.C.)—captured Gezer and gave the town as a dowry to his daughter when she married Solomon (as reported in 1 Kings 9:16).



Penhet, whose tomb at Thebes contains scenes of Asiatics bringing goods.<sup>16</sup> Neither of these two officials can be identified among the Egyptian bureaucrats mentioned in the Amarna Letters.

The day-to-day administration of the Asiatic towns was left largely to the local rulers. Unlike Nubia, where a thoroughly Egyptian governmental structure was put in place, in the Levant the more complex city-state political system, with its town mayors and petty kings, remained essentially intact throughout the Late Bronze Age.<sup>17</sup> In addition to their normal administrative duties, the local Asiatic officials had certain responsibilities to their Egyptian colonial masters; those included supplying corvée, provisioning and otherwise supporting the garrisons as well as Egyptian troops moving through the country, expediting commerce, and paying tribute. The annual tribute (which seems to have been largely avoided by towns on the periphery of the empire, such as in Transjordan and inland Syria) included such items as silver, copper/bronze, horses, glass, wood, and manufactured goods from the northern vassals; and silver, cattle, glass, and people from the southern vassals. Certain tribute, such as livestock and crops, probably remained in the Levant to support the Egyptian military and political operations there.

As long as the vassals complied with Egypt's demands, they appear to have been free to conduct themselves pretty much as they saw fit. The Amarna Letters suggest a nearly anarchic situation in the Levant, with accusations and recriminations flying back and forth between local rulers, false and competing claims of loyalty to the pharaoh being uttered by the vassals, bureaucratic indifference and corruption (even among the Egyptian officials) being rampant, and continuous small-scale military conflict.<sup>18</sup> All of these difficulties, however, were overshadowed by the extensive international commerce of the period, which allowed the region to maintain a certain amount of economic well-being. Presumably the economic benefits that Egypt derived from the region caused a series of pharaohs to show a remarkable tolerance for disorder among the polities of the northern empire.

Egyptian rule was strongest along the Palestinian coast and the major highways of the southern Levant, and it was weakest in the hill country, peripheral areas of Palestine (such as the desertic regions), and Syria. Palestine and southern Syria offered nothing that was absolutely essential to the

16. Porter and Moss (1960) 330. For the recent attribution of Penhet's largely unpublished tomb (no. 239) to the reign of Amenhotep III, see Bryan (1991) 303; Helck (1971) 251.

17. Groll (1983) believes that Egypt's bureaucratic control of Syria-Palestine was actually much closer to that of Nubia than most scholars believe. For an excellent comparison of Egypt's empire in Nubia with that in western Asia, see Kemp (1978a).

18. For the chaotic situation in Palestine during the Amarna period, see Several (1972).

economic well-being of Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt, but the region formed an important buffer zone between Egypt and the superpowers of western Asia; hence it was necessary to keep the vassal rulers in line. Military support for the Egyptian officials stationed in the region was provided by a series of garrison towns and grain storage depots. Six garrison towns are mentioned in the Amarna Letters: four along the coast (Gaza and Jaffa in Palestine, Ullaza and Sumur in Syria), and two inland (Beth Shan at the eastern end of the Jezreel Valley in northern Palestine, Kumidi in the Beqa' Valley). With the exception of Kumidi, the principal official at each of the garrison towns was an Egyptian. The two grain storage depots attested in the Amarna Letters were at Jaffa and Yarimuta (the latter town located perhaps along the southern coast of Lebanon). The impression one gets from the archaeological and textual sources of the period is that the principal goal of the Egyptian administration in western Asia during the first half of the fourteenth century B.C. was to exploit the region economically and politically at the smallest cost militarily.<sup>19</sup>

#### Egyptian Trade in the Levant

The fourteenth century B.C. was an age of great commercial activity in the eastern Mediterranean world. Maritime relations between the Nile Valley, Syria-Palestine, and Cyprus were extensive during the reigns of Amenhotep III and his immediate successors. The Aegean world also participated in this trade, which brought affluence to many communities along the Levantine coast as well as on the adjacent inland caravan routes. While Egypt's imperial demands drained a substantial percentage of the wealth accumulated by the small Palestinian towns of the period, the larger urban centers of coastal and urban Syria paid little tribute in comparison to the wealth they accumulated through trade; as a result, these Syrian cities enjoyed considerable affluence during this period.

Much of Egypt's trade with Syria-Palestine in the Late Bronze Age was conducted by ship. Major ports for this trade along the Levantine littoral included Ugarit (with its harbor facility at Minet el-Beidha) and Byblos on the northern coast; Akko, Jaffa, Ashkelon, and Gaza along the southern

19. The limited nature of Egyptian military and administrative activity in Canaan explains the paucity of Egyptian pottery in the area during the fourteenth century B.C. From the thirteenth and early twelfth centuries B.C., when there was a substantial Egyptian military and administrative operation in Palestine, a considerable quantity of Egyptian pottery (some imported from Egypt, the rest produced locally) is known.



coast. Interestingly, the east-west land route across the coastal strip of northern Sinai did not serve as a major commercial highway during the New Kingdom but was used principally as a military road.<sup>20</sup>

Trade goods bartered between Egypt and Syria-Palestine during the fourteenth century B.C. included a wide variety of items. For Egypt, the Levant was their major source of good building wood (especially cedar, fir, and pine). It also provided the Nile Valley with metals (mostly copper/bronze and silver), raw glass, and a variety of manufactured goods. Other important Levantine commodities in this trade were wine and oil. The wine trade is confirmed by the numerous jar labels inscribed "wine of Kharu (i.e., Syria)" that were found in Amenhotep III's palace complex at Malqata.<sup>21</sup> In addition, Canaanite amphoras in which wine (or oil) would have been shipped have been discovered at many sites in Egypt (including Malqata),<sup>22</sup> and a scene in the tomb of Kenamun, mayor of Thebes, shows Asiatic merchants unloading amphoras from their ships at an unidentified Egyptian town.<sup>23</sup>

Egyptian goods of this period found in Syria-Palestine include numerous small trinkets (such as scarabs, pendants, and beads) as well as larger items, such as calcite and glass vessels. The larger imports would have been considered luxury goods by the Canaanites, and as such they are found most frequently in tombs, temples, and palaces. Calcite vessels are common all over the Levant, from Ugarit and Minet el-Beidha in the north to Tell el-'Ajjul in the Gaza area to the south; a large collection of calcite vessels was even discovered in a building excavated on the grounds of the airport in Amman.<sup>24</sup> Glass vessels are less frequently found in Syria-Palestine, partly because they were manufactured in smaller quantities than stone vessels, and partly because of their fragility. Nonetheless, a number of Egyptian glass vessels dated to the fourteenth century B.C. have been discovered in the region.<sup>25</sup>

As for Egyptian gold, most items of this material that have been found in Levantine tombs and domestic deposits of this period tend to be small; they

include rings, foil, and so forth.<sup>26</sup> Few Canaanites (other than important rulers) could afford this material, and it is unlikely that an Egyptian pharaoh would have offered a lowly Canaanite mayor or minor temple a substantial quantity of gold. This situation contrasts sharply with what one reads in the Amarna Letters in the exchanges between the pharaoh and the great kings of western Asia; the latter were preoccupied with gold and constantly asked the pharaoh to send them ever more quantities of this valuable material.

#### Objects Naming Amenhotep III from Western Asia

Objects naming Amenhotep III and Tiye are ubiquitous in the Levant and offer good evidence for the widespread nature of Egyptian commerce and diplomatic relations in this period. In sharp contrast to the very few scarabs found in this region that name Amenhotep III's two immediate predecessors (Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV), for example, those of Amenhotep III are exceedingly common; only scarabs of the great military leaders Thutmose III and Ramses II occur more frequently in Syria-Palestine.<sup>27</sup> Most of the items naming the king and queen are relatively small and portable. Large objects, such as stelae and architectural elements, are attested only in the Sinai Peninsula, a fact that confirms the evidence obtained from the Amarna Letters and archaeological sources that the number of Egyptian military men and administrators actually stationed in the Levant was fairly limited and probably restricted to a small number of sites.

#### Syria

Objects inscribed with the names of Amenhotep III or Tiye from the northern Levant are few in number in comparison to those found in Palestine. Ugarit is the only Syrian site that has yielded an impressive collection of artifacts in this category.<sup>28</sup> During the Late Bronze Age, this was the most important

20. Bergoffen (1991).

21. Hayes (1951) 39, type 77; 160–61, fig. 7:77.

22. Hope (1989) 98, 101–7 *passim*.

23. Davies and Faulkner (1947). Other cargo brought on these vessels included metal vessels, precious items in open bowls, several Asiatics (probably coming to Egypt as slaves), and two humped bulls. Identifiable Egyptian goods being bartered to the Asiatics in this famous tomb scene from the reign of Amenhotep III include textiles, sandals, and food.

24. Hankey (1974) 170–75.

25. See, e.g., a well-preserved two-handled glass jar, perhaps from the period of Amenhotep III, from cave I.10A at Gezer (Barag [1988] 100–101, pls. 15:7, 74A, with references to additional examples from Tell el-'Ajjul, Lachish, and Beth Shemesh).

26. E.g., the gold ring and two silver rings (one inscribed with Amenhotep III's praenomen) from a rich group of burials found in the Persian Garden tombs near Akko. Other Egyptian items in these burials, which may have belonged to a group of Mesopotamian merchants murdered during the reign of Akhenaten (Gittlen [1985]), included a clay bead containing Amenhotep III's praenomen, a calcite vase, a bronze mirror with a handle in the shape of a nude female, an arrowhead inscribed with an Egyptian hieroglyph, and various weights (Ben-Arieh and Edelstein 1977).

27. Scarabs naming Amenhotep III are extremely common in the Levant: see, e.g., Weinstein (1988) 91–92; Rowe (1936) nos. 537–67. Interestingly, no scarabs naming this king are attested from Late Bronze Age contexts on Cyprus; there is, however, a single scarab inscribed with the name of Queen Tiye: see Jacobsson (1994) no. 251.

28. Liverani (1979a) cols. 1298–1303 offers a brief description of these items.



commercial emporium on the Syrian coast for Egyptian trade, especially with Cyprus: a sharp decline in the movement of Cypriot pottery to Egypt during the Amarna period coincides chronologically with the destruction of Ugarit, and the two events may be related.<sup>29</sup> Artifacts discovered at Ugarit that contain the name of one or both members of the royal couple include one of the well-known marriage scarabs (see "Commemorative Scarabs in the Levant," later in this discussion), two alabaster vase fragments,<sup>30</sup> and two small scarabs.<sup>31</sup> In addition, a Ugaritic tablet found in the palace mentions a king *nmry*; the identification of this name with the praenomen of Amenhotep III (*Nb-m3't-r'*) is widely accepted.<sup>32</sup>

Other objects from Syria bearing royal names include two small plaques and five scarabs from Byblos,<sup>33</sup> a small plaque from Mari,<sup>34</sup> a scarab fragment from Tell Sukas,<sup>35</sup> a scarab from Alalakh,<sup>36</sup> and a scarab from Arban on the Khabur River.<sup>37</sup> To this list may be added two cuneiform tablets, addressed by an unnamed Egyptian king (probably Amenhotep III), which were found in 1969 in the Late Bronze Age palace at Kamid el-Loz (Kumidi).<sup>38</sup>

### *Palestine*

Artifacts naming Amenhotep III and Tiye are plentiful in Palestine. Virtually every excavated site of any importance during the fourteenth century B.C. has at least one item naming the king or queen.<sup>39</sup> It will suffice here to note

29. Merrillees (1968) 202; cf. Jacobsson (1994) 91–92. For a brief history of Ugarit's relations with Egypt during the Late Bronze Age, see Astour (1981) 8–26.

30. One alabaster vase fragment is published in Schaeffer (1949) fig. 75:15; (1953) 122–23, fig. 2; (1954) 41. The second fragment is mentioned in Schaeffer (1962) 97.

31. Schaeffer (1939) 70, fig. 59:9113<sup>A</sup> RS, 9441 RS.

32. Various translations and interpretations of the laconic text on this tablet have been offered: see, e.g., Lipiński (1977); Knapp (1983); Pardee (1987) 204–9.

33. References in Chéhab (1969) 31–32; Salles (1980) 63, pl. 23.

34. Leclant (1975). The scarab was discovered in an Assyrian burial (tomb 656) in court 131 of the Palace of Zimrilim (Parrot [1975] 7).

35. Lund (1986) 21–23, fig. 11 = Buhl (1983) 86, pl. 26:533. The praenomen of the king is not clear in the published photograph.

36. Woolley (1955) pl. 66:131; Kitchen (1982b) 88. For the item's context in a Level I cremation burial, see Bienkowski (1982) 80.

37. Layard (1853) 239, no. 3.

38. Edzard (1970). Another extant tablet, found in 1972 in the palace, may also be contemporary with the reign of Amenhotep III (see Wilhelm [1973]).

39. In addition, objects inscribed with Amenhotep III's name have been found in later contexts in the Levant. E.g., a cowrie-shaped seal and a scarab containing Amenhotep III's praenomen were found at Apeh in the context of the Early Arabic period: see Givon (1988) nos. 49–50. A large scarab containing the names of the king and queen was found in a postexilic context at Lachish: see Tufnell (1953) 59, 362, pl. 44A:156. Another large scarab, naming the

those objects found at just two of the more important sites: Gezer and Lachish.

The materials from Gezer and Lachish are notable because of the large numbers of objects involved. From Gezer comes a cylindrical kohl tube,<sup>40</sup> a large marriage scarab (see "Commemorative Scarabs in the Levant"), at least eight small scarabs and scaraboids,<sup>41</sup> a large scarab containing the cartouches of the king and queen,<sup>42</sup> a *wedjat*-eye,<sup>43</sup> possibly a fragment of a ring bezel,<sup>44</sup> and a bead.<sup>45</sup> In addition, a plaque and a scarab now in the British Museum are part of a group of such objects acquired in 1913 that may have come from Gezer.<sup>46</sup> Lachish has yielded as many as thirteen small scarabs,<sup>47</sup> a bead,<sup>48</sup> two small rectangular plaques,<sup>49</sup> a *wedjat*-eye,<sup>50</sup> two small seals,<sup>51</sup> three large scarabs containing the cartouches of both Amenhotep III and Tiye,<sup>52</sup> and a scarab commemorating a lion hunt (see "Commemorative Scarabs in the Levant").

### *Sinai*

The route across northern Sinai that links Egypt's eastern Delta to Canaan contains dozens of New Kingdom sites. A survey as well as excavations undertaken by the Ben-Gurion University of the Negev in 1972–82 revealed a series of forts and other support facilities constructed along the coastal strip to facilitate Egyptian military traffic.<sup>53</sup> These discoveries confirm the

king and the Lady of the Sycamore (i.e., Hathor), was discovered recently in an early Iron Age religious complex at Tel Mique: see Gitin and Dothan (1993) 5.

40. Dever et al. (1974) 86, 135, pls. 41:12, 75:D.

41. Macalister (1912) 3: pls. 80:21, 202b:1, 205a:12, 207:18, 207:31, 207:39, 209:10; Weinstein (1988) 91, pls. 17:2, 75:A.

42. Macalister (1912) 2: fig. 454; cf. *ibid.* p. 320.

43. *Ibid.* pl. 210:32; cf. *ibid.* p. 331.

44. See *ibid.* pl. 209:88; cf. *ibid.* p. 330.

45. *Ibid.* pl. 209:93; cf. *ibid.* p. 343 note.

46. Givon (1985) 126, nos. 50–51.

47. Tufnell, Inge, and Harding (1940) pls. 32a–32b:3–4; Tufnell (1958) pls. 31–32:128; 35–36:208 (?); 37–38:289–94, 303–4, 313; 39–40:338.

48. Tufnell, Inge, and Harding (1940) pls. 32a–32b:2.

49. *Ibid.* pl. 32b:7; Tufnell (1958) pls. 34–35:171.

50. Tufnell (1958) pls. 36–37:249.

51. *Ibid.* pls. 37–38:314, 322.

52. Tufnell, Inge, and Harding (1940) pl. 32b:36–38. For another such scarab, from a building dating to the late first millennium B.C., see n. 39 in this chapter.

53. Oren (1987).



evidence provided by reliefs of Seti I at Karnak that most of the way stations in northern Sinai were constructed during the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>54</sup>

The extent of Egyptian activity in northern Sinai during the reign of Amenhotep III is uncertain, based on the data published so far. One site near the center of the route, Bir el-Abd, had pottery comparable to that found at Amarna (including the characteristic blue-painted ware), while other finds indicate that the site was founded already in the fifteenth century B.C.<sup>55</sup> Bir el-Abd had a fortified structure, an associated water reservoir, and a large granary. Another site, labeled A-345 and located in northeastern Sinai, had an administrative function. Pottery found at A-345 is similar to that known from Malqata and Amarna.<sup>56</sup> Finally, excavations at Deir el-Balah in the Gaza district yielded an Egyptian site founded in the late Eighteenth Dynasty; preliminary indications are, however, that the (basal) stratum 9 activity may have begun only with the reign of Akhenaten.<sup>57</sup>

Egyptian inscriptions of the reign of Amenhotep III are numerous at Serabit el-Khadim, the center of Egyptian turquoise mining in southwestern Sinai.<sup>58</sup> The two dated monuments, a pair of large stelae that stood in room B of the temple of Hathor, mention regnal year 36.<sup>59</sup> The name of the king, that of Queen Tiye, or both names appear at Serabit el-Khadim on other architectural elements, as well as on a statuette fragment, alabaster and faience vessels, and other small items, one of which is a scarab commemorating a wild-bull hunt (see "Commemorative Scarabs in the Levant").<sup>60</sup> As in Syria-Palestine, only Thutmose III and Ramses II among New Kingdom pharaohs are named at the turquoise mines of Sinai more often than Amenhotep III.

#### *Commemorative Scarabs in the Levant*

Amenhotep III "published" five series of large scarabs (up to 11 centimeters in length) to record important events that took place during the early years of

his regime. Seven of the more than two hundred so-called commemorative scarabs of Amenhotep III have been found in the Levant. The three from Beth Shemesh,<sup>61</sup> Gezer,<sup>62</sup> and Ugarit<sup>63</sup> fall in the category of "marriage scarabs," since they appear to have been issued at the beginning of the king's reign to announce his marriage to Tiye. Three scarabs record his taking of 102 lions in regnal years 1 through 10: one of these is from Lachish,<sup>64</sup> a second reportedly was discovered at a site several kilometers from Petra in southern Jordan,<sup>65</sup> while a third is from Palaepaphos-Skales in Cyprus.<sup>66</sup> The seventh specimen, a scarab recording his taking of ninety-six wild bulls, was found in the Egyptian temple at Serabit el-Khadim.<sup>67</sup>

The circumstances under which these objects reached the Levant are unknown. It has often been suggested that these scarabs were sent as gifts or announcements either to foreign rulers or to Egyptian administrators stationed in the region. The discovery of one of the scarabs in the palace at Ugarit dovetails nicely with the former view, but the remaining six specimens derive from such a hodgepodge of contexts—some contemporary with the king's reign, some not—that they could provide support for almost any interpretation. The Serabit el-Khadim scarab comes from a New Kingdom Egyptian temple, the Lachish scarab is from a thirteenth century B.C. sanctuary known as Fosse Temple III (though it probably derives originally from Fosse Temple II, dated to the previous century), the Palaepaphos-Skales scarab is from an eleventh century B.C. grave (tomb 89), and the Beth Shemesh scarab comes from an Iron Age II building. The Gezer example reportedly was found with a small number of other Egyptian objects (including another large Amenhotep III and Tiye scarab) at the south end of trench 28 at the top of the inner city wall,<sup>68</sup> while the Jordanian specimen has no archaeological context at all.

54. Gardiner (1920).

55. Oren (1987) 78–84; idem (1993) 1389.

56. Oren (1987) 97–107; idem (1993) 1390–91.

57. Dothan (1987) 122–28; idem (1993) 343–44.

58. A stela containing the cartouche of the king is also reported from a site between Wadi Nasb and Wadi Abu Sor (reference in Gardiner, Peet, and Černý [1952–55] 5).

59. Ibid. nos. 211–12; no. 211 was dedicated by the overseer of the treasury Sobekhotep, called Pinhasy. Amenhotep III evidently was responsible for the building of rooms C, D, and E in the temple complex (ibid. 38) and perhaps for a few other rooms there.

60. Ibid. nos. 210, 213–22, 426.

61. Blankenberg-Van Deldern (1969) no. A 39; Grant (1934) 38, 66, pl. 20:1. The king's claim in the text of the marriage scarab that his empire stretched as far north as Naharin (Mitanni) was a bit far-fetched, since the middle and lower Orontes River valley and the land of Nukhashshe, between the Orontes and Euphrates Rivers, were in the hands of Mitanni during his reign.

62. Blankenberg-Van Deldern (1969) no. A 40.

63. Ibid. no. A 42; Krieger (1956); Schaeffer (1954) 58, plan on fig. 3.

64. Blankenberg-Van Deldern (1969) no. C 87; Tufnell, Inge, and Harding (1940) 22, 69–70, pl. 32b:39.

65. Ward (1973).

66. Karageorghis (1982) 177, fig. 6; Clerq (1983) 389–92, fig. 7, pl. 190:17.

67. The commemorative scarab is published in full by Blankenberg-Van Deldern (1969) no. B 2.

68. Macalister (1912) 2:322.



### Conclusions

Amenhotep III inherited a Levantine empire that, though not tranquil internally, was submissive to Egypt's economic, political, and military demands. While this king receives glowing praise in the Egyptological literature for his diplomatic skills, it must be remembered that he ruled at a point in history when there was no serious contender to Egypt's rule anywhere in the Levant and when the towns of Palestine and southern Syria were politically divided and militarily weak. Amenhotep III may indeed have been a "master diplomat," but he was dealing from a position of strength unmatched by any pharaoh of the New Kingdom. A few peace treaties and diplomatic marriages were sufficient to maintain harmonious relations between Egypt and its most powerful imperial contemporaries, while the threat or occasional use of limited military force was adequate to control the vassal rulers.

Luck is often a critical factor in the success or failure of modern political and military leaders. We tend to forget, however, that the same luck could be responsible for many of the major successes attributed to leaders in antiquity. In the history of the New Kingdom Empire, Amenhotep III's reign was the last extended period in which Egypt controlled the entire southern Levant and northern coastal region, without any superpower opponent to challenge its authority. In the reign of his successor, the Hittites moved down into Syria, and much of the northern Levant that had formerly been under Egyptian hegemony (including the city of Ugarit) was lost. Though Akhenaten and other pharaohs of the late Eighteenth Dynasty would do their best to regain the lost territory, their efforts at best were only partially successful. Never again would the Egyptian Empire be as stable or secure as it had been in the reign of Amenhotep III.

### Amenhotep III, the Aegean, and Anatolia

*Eric H. Cline*

### Amenhotep III and the Aegean

The site of Kom el-Hetan in Egypt, located near the Valley of the Kings across the Nile River from modern Luxor, contains the most important pieces of evidence attesting to contacts between Egypt and the Aegean during the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>69</sup> At this site are the remains of the mortuary temple of

69. The following discussion draws heavily upon previous publications by the author; cf. especially Cline (1987); idem (1990); and idem (1990–91); now also idem (1994) and idem (1995).

Amenhotep III.<sup>70</sup> Two huge statues of the pharaoh stand at the entrance to the temple (fig. 7.1). One of these was famous in antiquity for emitting an eerie whistling sound each dawn for centuries, until restoration work during the Roman period finally put an end to the daily "cries of the god." These statues were, and still are, erroneously called the Colossi of Memnon, as a result of a mistaken identification with Memnon, a mythological Ethiopian prince killed at Troy by Achilles. They are today the most famous remains of Amenhotep's ruined temple.

At the rear of the temple, in the northwest corner, are five statue bases (labeled A<sub>n</sub> to E<sub>n</sub> by Edel),<sup>71</sup> which are all that remain of an original row of ten statues of the great pharaoh. These statues, each smaller than the Colossi of Memnon, were still much larger than life size. Today, only the sculpted feet and the bases on which they stand still exist. Each of the bases is inscribed with a series of place-names (toponyms) arranged in a single horizontal row, running along the front and sides of the base. Each toponym consists of hieroglyphs enclosed within an oval with projections, surmounted by the figure of a bound prisoner—these are sometimes referred to as "captive ovals."<sup>72</sup>

Each of these statue-base lists gives the names of countries or regions that are thought to have been involved with Egypt in some way during the reign of Amenhotep III. The list inscribed on the fifth statue base, now known as the Aegean List, consists of fourteen names that can be identified with sites and areas in the Aegean (fig. 7.2).<sup>73</sup> It is the only example we have from ancient Egypt of such a list of Aegean place-names. There are seventeen toponyms remaining on this statue base, fifteen of which are inscribed on both the left side and the left half of the front side, with two more on the right half of the front side. The list is composed in the so-called group writing or syllabic orthography, the system used by the Egyptians to transcribe foreign words and names.<sup>74</sup>

The two names on the right half of the front side are separated from the others by a double cartouche of Amenhotep III (*[ntr nfr] Nb-mꜣt-R' [Sꜣ R'] Imnḥtp ḥꜣꜣ wꜣst*) inscribed above a *smꜣ*-sign to which two bound captives are attached. These two right-hand toponyms are *Kft(j)w*, vocalized as *Kef-*

70. Haeny (1981).

71. Edel (1966).

72. Redford (1983) 362.

73. Edel (1966) 37–40, 52; idem (1988) 30–35; Strange (1980) 21–27, no. 3; Cline (1987) 2–6, 22–23, 26–29, table 2, with earlier references; idem (1994) 38–39, 112, 115, cat. nos. A24, A34; Bernal (1991) 432–34, 474–77; O'Connor (1996) 56–60, figs. 1–2; Haider (1996) 144. The statue base is no longer intact or in situ, having been accidentally destroyed sometime after 1975.

74. See Kitchen (1969a) 198 on syllabic orthography.



*tiu*, which is most likely the Egyptian name for the island of Crete and the Bronze Age Minoans, and *Tj-n3-jj*, read as *Tanaja* or *Tinay*, which refers most likely to the Mycenaeans (Danaoi; \*Danaia) of the Late Bronze Age Peloponnese, on the Greek mainland. In the register above these two names is written:<sup>75</sup>

t3w nbw št3yt pḥw nw stt

[All secret/difficult countries of the North of Asia]

The other remaining names on the Aegean List have been identified as, in order, *Amnisos*, *Phaistos*, *Kydonia*, *Mycenae*, *Boeotian Thebes* or *Kato Zakro*, *Methana* (Argolid), *Nauplion*, *Kythera*, *Ilios* (Troy), *Knossos*, *Amnisos* (listed again), and *Lyktos* (*i-m-n-y-š3*, *b3-y-š3-?y*, *k3-t-w-n3-y*, *m-w-k-i-n-w*, *d-y-q-e-i-s*, *m-d3-n-i3*, *nw-p-r-y*, *k3-ti-r*, *w3-iw-r-y*, *k3-in-yw-š*, *i-m-ni-š3*, *ry-k3-ti*). Remnants of several other toponyms, already destroyed beyond legibility when the statue base was unearthed, indicate that *Lyktos* was originally not the last name inscribed.

In the register above the first three names is written:

t3w nbw [f]nḥw ḥnt-ḥn-nfr r rdwy ntr pn nfr

[All countries of the Phoenicians and Khent-ḥen-Nefer [i.e. the North and the South] are under the feet of this good God.]

In the register above toponyms 4–12 is written:

[wr]w ḥ3swt nbw rs[ywt] mḥ[tywt] ḥmw iit [r] kmt . . . iw ḥr pdwy iry twt m bw [w']. . .

[the princes of all northern and southern countries who did not know to come to Egypt . . . come on their knees united in one place. . . ]

On a final fragment, F<sub>1</sub>, apparently from this same register, is written:

. . . r rdit n.sn t3w n 'nḥ . . .

[ . . . that the breath of life may be given to them . . . ]

75. Following Edel (1966) 34–55, pl. III; Strange (1980) 21–22 n. 33, 24 nn. 42–45; Baines (personal communication). Cf. also Bryan's relevant discussion of similar texts in chap. 2 of this book.

Early controversies, immediately following Edel's publication of this list in 1966, focused on whether the list was "anachronistic propaganda" or was contemporary to the reign of Amenhotep III. The topic is still debated, but most scholars favor the latter, particularly since no earlier mentions of such Aegean sites and areas exist in Egypt.<sup>76</sup> Moreover, these names never appear again in Egypt; they are confined and are unique to the reign of Amenhotep III and the site of Kom el-Hetan.

This statue base of Amenhotep III, while unique in its own right, is not the only textual or pictorial evidence for connections between Egypt and the Aegean during his thirty-eight years of rule. Additional literary references and a few tomb paintings are well known from publications by Vercoutter and others and may now be updated.<sup>77</sup>

In all, there are three Egyptian words or phrases that apparently refer to the Aegean area. *Kft(j)w* (*Keftiu*) and *Tj-n3-jj* (*Tanaja*), to be equated with Crete and mainland Greece, respectively, have already been mentioned. *Iww ḥryw-ib nw W3d-wr*, translated as "the Isles in the Midst of the Great Green," is usually seen as a reference to the Cycladic islands of the Aegean, perhaps including Crete. A final term, *Ḥ3w-nbw.t*, vocalized as "Hau-nebwet," although used as a reference to "Greeks" in the Late Period, more likely was a reference to areas in Syria-Palestine during the New Kingdom period and is not discussed here.<sup>78</sup> During the reign of Amenhotep III, the term *Keftiu* appears in Egypt five times and the term *Tanaja* appears three times. The term *Isles in the Midst of the Great Green* does not appear at all.

The range of contexts in which mentions of the Aegean occur in Egypt during the reign of Amenhotep III is fascinating. In the tomb of Anen, brother of Queen Tiye, a "Keftiu" appears in a conventionalized wall painting considered to be copied from earlier tombs.<sup>79</sup> In the scene, the "Keftiu," shown as a kneeling figure with arms bound behind his back and with an identifying label immediately in front of his face, appears among a group of "captives" painted or inscribed on the lower part of a royal pavilion in which

76. The sole holdouts are Strøm (1984) 192–93 n. 9, 203; Wachsmann (1987) 95–99, 111–14, 124–25; and Osing (1992) 25–26. The latter two rely on earlier arguments presented by Merrillees (1972) 290–91; Osing's philological discussion is interesting but not ultimately convincing. Their arguments are countered in Cline (1987) 4 n. 18; idem (1990) 210 n. 46; Muhly (1991) 235–39; cf. also now Haider (1996) 144.

77. Vercoutter (1956); Strange (1980); Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis (1984) 197–202; Wachsmann (1987); Haider (1988) 1–33. For the entire corpus of New Kingdom references to the Late Bronze Age Aegean, including those from the time of Amenhotep III mentioned in the following discussion, see now Cline (1994) 108–20, cat. nos. A1–A59.

78. Vandersleyen (1971) 139; O'Connor (1996) 55.

79. Vercoutter (1956) 79–82, no. 15, pls. XII:116, XXVI:190, XXXIV:230; Strange (1980) 55–56, no. 20; Wachsmann (1987) 40, pls. XLVIII, L:A.



Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye are sitting. Other named "captives" include *Sangar* (Babylonia), *Kush*, *Naharina* (Mitanni), *Arame*, bowmen of *Nubia*, *Tehenu*, and nomads of *Asia*. The painting is dismissed by Vercoutter and Wachsmann as useless for historical considerations, because of the hybrid nature of the portrayed "Keftiu" figure; he is shown sporting an Aegean hairstyle, a Syrian robe, shoes with their toes upturned in the Hittite manner, and an unusual skullcap. However, the identifying label *Keftiu* in this painting is of value, and this evidence should not be dismissed out of hand.

Another occurrence of *Keftiu* in Amenhotep III's Egypt is found in a medical papyrus now in London (*P Lon. Med.* 11, 4–6), in which medical words in the "Keftiu language" are listed for various ailments. The text, copied in the time of Tutankhamen, dates originally to the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>80</sup> It reads:

Spell for the Asiatic disease in Keftiu language: *s3-n-ti-k3-pw-py-w3-y-i-y-m3-n-ti-r-k3-k3-i-r*. This utterance is said with . . .<sup>81</sup>

The term *Keftiu* also appears on an ostrakon that is dated very imprecisely to sometime in the Eighteenth Dynasty but that is possibly to be assigned to Amenhotep III's reign. On the ostrakon is written the name *p3 kftiwy*, to be translated as "the Keftiuan."<sup>82</sup>

The rest of the occurrences of these terms are all on topographical lists carved for Amenhotep III. The Aegean List, with its mentions of *Tanaja*, *Keftiu*, and specific Aegean sites and areas has already been described. In addition, a second topographical list, engraved on column drums in Amenhotep III's Amon temple at Soleb in Nubia, includes the names *Keftiu* and *Tanaja*, as well as the names *Hatti*, *Arzawa*, and possibly *Arušna*. Other names in the list are *Qadesh*, *Tunip*, *Ugarit*, *Sangar* (Babylonia), and *Naharina* (Mitanni).<sup>83</sup> A few previous scholars have suggested that this is a list copied by Amenhotep III from one of his predecessors, either Thutmose III or Amenhotep II, but most accept the list as a genuine record of Amenhotep III. The latter assumption certainly seems more likely, given the other occurrences of *Tanaja* during Amenhotep III's reign. The most recent work on the Soleb List has been done by Edel, who restores the list on the basis of

80. Vercoutter (1956) 82–85, no. 16; Strange (1980) 99–101, no. 43; Haider (1990) 19 n. 7.

81. Translation after Strange (1980) 99–100.

82. Vercoutter (1956) 96–97, no. 21; Strange (1980) 101, no. 44.

83. Simons (1937) 47–49, 132–33, 147; Vercoutter (1956) 78–79, no. 14; Jirku (1957) 27; Edel (1980) 63–79, esp. 65–68, 74; Strange (1980) 20–21, no. 2; Haider (1984) 9–14; idem (1988) 11.

better-preserved copies inscribed under Ramses II at Aksha and Amara West.<sup>84</sup>

A third topographical list dating to the reign of Amenhotep III, in the Amon-Ra temple at Karnak, has the name *Tanaja* between the names *Alašiya* (Cyprus) and *Ugarit*; the names *Hatti* and *Arzawa* also appear in the list, as do the names *Sangar* (Babylonia) and *Naharina* (Mitanni).<sup>85</sup> The list is inscribed on the socle of the eastern colossal statue standing in front of the north side of the Tenth Pylon erected by Horemheb in the Amon-Ra temple. The list was accordingly thought to date from the reign of Horemheb, and it remained for a time a matter of debate whether the Karnak list was a copy of an older list or represented an actual historic event during the reign of Horemheb. However, the list has now been convincingly redated to the reign of Amenhotep III, for both this list and the list on the socle of the western colossal statue in front of the north side of the Tenth Pylon, are, according to Edel, closely related to those on the statue bases in front of the south side of the pylon. The easternmost of these southern statue bases bears the name of Amenhotep III. All four statue bases, including the two northern statue bases, and their lists may therefore be redated to the reign of Amenhotep III rather than to that of Horemheb.

#### Amenhotep III and Anatolia

At least four terms found in Amenhotep III's Egypt refer to inhabitants or political entities in Anatolia. *H-t-3* (alternatively *Ht*), the Egyptian rendering of *Hatti*, is a reference to the Hittite kingdom in central Anatolia. During the reign of Amenhotep III, *Hatti* appears five times in four geographical lists—at Kom el-Hetan (twice), Soleb, and Karnak (twice)—and occurs in at least one Amarna Letter (EA 31).<sup>86</sup> There are additional letters in the Amarna archive (EA 41–44) that are the remnants of direct correspondence between the Hittite and Egyptian courts, but these are dated to the time of Akhenaten or later.<sup>87</sup>

84. Edel (1980).

85. Simons (1937) 52, 135–36; Jirku (1957) 27, 31; Edel (1966) 37, 51; Cline (1987) 18; Haider (1988) 11–12.

86. Amarna Letter EA 45 may also mention the "King of Hatti." Cf. Kitchen (1962) 34–35; Schulman (1988) 60; Moran (1992) 117–18 n. 5. The first Egyptian mentions of *Hatti* and *Arzawa* appear during the time of Thutmose III. See Breasted (1906) 476, 485; Edel (1980) 69; Wachsmann (1987) 8, 35; Haider (1988) 22–23.

87. Moran (1992) 114–17; Schulman (1988).



*I-r-t-[w]* (alternatively *'rt[w]*) refers to the Arzawan kingdom in southwestern Anatolia. The name *Arzawa* appears twice in the same geographical lists at Kom el-Hetan and Soleb, and *Arzawa* is the actual destination and origin (respectively) of two Amarna Letters (EA 31–32), which are concerned with the marriage of Amenhotep III to the daughter of King Tarkhundaradu of Arzawa. According to recent thinking, these letters were probably written prior to Šuppiluliuma I's reconquest of *Arzawa*, perhaps during the final decade of Amenhotep III's reign.<sup>88</sup>

Amarna Letter EA 31 also mentions the third Anatolian group known to Egyptian sources at this time, the *Kaška* (*KURGa-aš-ga*), a people located to the northeast of Hattusas and frequently at war with the Hittites. The *Kaška* are known to have sacked Hattusas ca. 1400 B.C., at about the time when an Arzawan army had marched on the Hatti lands.<sup>89</sup>

A final term, *a-r-w-i-š3-n*, which appears once in the geographical list at Soleb, has been tentatively identified as the name of the Hittite state *Arušna*, perhaps located in southwestern Anatolia.<sup>90</sup>

When these references to Anatolia appear in Amenhotep III's inscriptions, they are almost always found in juxtaposition with the references to the Aegean. For instance, at Kom el-Hetan *Hatti* appears twice and *Arzawa* once on the first of the statue-base lists (*A<sub>n</sub>*).<sup>91</sup> At Soleb in Nubia, the topographical list engraved on column drums in Amenhotep III's Amon temple includes the names *Hatti*, *Arzawa*, and possibly *Arušna*, as well as *Keftiu* and *Tanaja*.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, Amenhotep III's topographical list inscribed on the socle of the eastern colossal statue standing in front of the north side of the Tenth Pylon in the Amon-Ra temple at Karnak records the names *Hatti* and *Arzawa*, in addition to the name *Tanaja*, as noted earlier.<sup>93</sup> We should, perhaps, not be too surprised by such juxtapositioning, for the other names in these lists include *Babylonia*, *Assyria*, *Mitanni*, *Cyprus*, *Carchemish*, *Al-epo*, *Qadesh*, *Tunip*, and *Ugarit*. In short, each list encompasses the known world located to the north (both east and west) of Amenhotep III's Egypt. Thus, an additional topographical list inscribed on the granite socle of the eastern colossal statue to the south of the Tenth Pylon in the Amon-Ra

temple at Karnak has the name *Hatti* sandwiched between the names *Naharina* (Mitanni) and *Sangar* (Babylonia).<sup>94</sup>

Within the Amarna archives there are further possible textual attestations to contacts between Egypt and the Hittites during the time of Amenhotep III. In a letter from Šuppiluliuma I to Akhenaten (Amarna Letter EA 41:7–22), the former refers tangentially to earlier negotiations for peace between himself and Amenhotep III, most likely regarding the disputed border in North Syria.

Neither my messengers, whom I sent to your father, nor the request that your father made, saying, "Let us establish only the most friendly relations between us," did I indeed re[us]e. Whatsoever your father said to me, I indeed did absolutely eve[ry]thing. And my own request, indeed, that I made to your father, he never refused; he gave me absolutely everything. . . . Now, my brother, [yo]u have ascended the throne of your father, and just as your father and I were desirous of peace between us, so now too should you and I be friendly with one another. The request (that) I expressed to your father [I shall express] to my brother, too. Let us be helpful to each other.<sup>95</sup>

This treaty between Šuppiluliuma I and Amenhotep III may actually have been concluded, for in *The Deeds of Šuppiluliuma I*, written by Šuppiluliuma's son Muršili II, it is reported that the sending of Egyptian messengers by "Nibhururiya" (Akhenaten, Tutankhamen, or Smenkhkare) represented the *second* time that Egyptian messengers had come to the Hittite king.<sup>96</sup> The very existence of this earlier treaty is debated, but recent scholarship suggests that it might be none other than the well-known Kuruštama Treaty,

88. Jacob-Rost (1956) 328–36; Bryce (1974) 105 n. 20; Starke (1981) 221–31; Wilhelm and Boese (1987) 103; Schulman (1988) 74 n. 85; Moran (1992) 101–3 and n. 1.

89. Kitchen (1962) 22; Macqueen (1986) 45–46, 55–56; Schulman (1988) 67; Bryce (1989b) 308–10 and n. 46; Gurney (1990) 21, 26. Cf. Goetze (1940) 22.

90. Haider (1984) 9–14; idem (1988) 11.

91. Edel (1966) 6–7.

92. Cf. references in n. 82 in this chapter.

93. Cf. references in n. 84 in this chapter.

94. Martinez (1985) 137; Simons (1937) 49, 133; Jirku (1957) 27–28, 30. There seems to be some confusion in previous publications as to the correct findspot of this piece. I thank W. J. Murnane (personal communication) for his on-site help in this matter.

95. Translation following Moran (1992) 114–15; cf. Schulman (1988) 74–75 n. 94. Moran notes the arguments that either Tutankhamen or Smenkhkare was the recipient instead of Akhenaten; this does not affect us here if Tutankhamen and Smenkhkare were also sons of Amenhotep III, as many believe.

96. For the various arguments concerning the identification of "Nibhururiya" in the *Deeds* and "Huriya" in Amarna Letter EA 41 as Akhenaten, Tutankhamen, or Smenkhkare, see Kitchen (1962) 12, 22; Krauss (1978) 9–19; Schulman (1978) 43; idem (1988) 60; Wilhelm and Boese (1987) 97, 101–2; Bryce (1989a) 22, 29–30; idem (1990) 97, 100–101, 103; Moran (1992) xxxv, xxxviii–xxxix and nn. 137–38.



which is thought to have included the resettlement of the Kaškean people of Kuruštama in Egyptian-held territory.<sup>97</sup>

Overall, relations between Egypt and Hatti during the reigns of Amenhotep III and Šuppiluliuma I appear to have been diplomatic but not particularly friendly. They were certainly not as amicable as the relationships between Egypt and Babylon or Egypt and Mitanni during this same period.

#### Comments on Amenhotep III, the Aegean, and Anatolia

Some two decades ago, Merrillees suggested that the Aegean List represented symbolic domination of the Aegean by Egyptians. Bernal has recently revived Merrillees' suggestion and has hypothesized that the Aegean List may be evidence for Egyptian hegemony over the Aegean area at this time.<sup>98</sup> He suggests that punitive expeditions were dispatched to the Aegean by the Egyptians, resulting in the sending of tribute, as seen in Egyptian tomb paintings, and in Egyptian suzerainty over the Aegean during the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C.

Bernal is certainly correct that there were numerous instances of contact and trade between Egypt and the Aegean during the Late Bronze Age, that the relationship between the Aegean and Egypt may have been unequal, that there may have been Egyptian influence on Mycenae during the fourteenth century B.C., and that there were formal exchanges of gifts during this time. There is no evidence in the Aegean area, however, to support the hypotheses of Egyptian punitive expeditions or of Egyptian suzerainty at this time; the data that do exist are indicative of more peaceful diplomatic and commercial expeditions. Thus, Bernal's ultimate conclusion that "Egypt exercised some kind of hegemony over the [Aegean] region" is at present unwarranted.<sup>99</sup>

The domination theory rests on the observation that the names on the Aegean List are inscribed on the statue base in fortified ovals surmounted by bound prisoners. A conclusion that such iconography represents Egyptian military or political control is, however, not necessarily correct, for the combination of a toponym in a cartouche or in a fortified oval with a superim-

97. Langdon and Gardiner (1920) 203 n. 5; Malamat (1955) 2–6; Güterbock (1956) 98; Kitchen (1962) 22 and n. 1; Schulman (1964a) 69 n. 125; idem (1978) 44; idem (1988) 65–68. There may be an additional reference to this treaty in the plague prayers of Muršili II (*KUB XIV* 8 obv. 13'–15'); see Bryce (1988) 26–27 n. 20 and Sürenhagen (1985) 17–39.

98. Merrillees (1972) 290; Bernal (1991) 433–34, 445, 451, 475–76.

99. Bernal (1991) 475–76. Cogent arguments against seeing the Aegean List as a statement of Egyptian dominance over the Aegean have been previously presented in Cline (1987) 4–5; idem (1990–91) 27, 35–36; idem (1994) 38–39, 42; Wachsmann (1987) 95. Cf. also Redford (1982) 55 and nn. 1–4; now O'Connor (1996) 56–60.

posed figure of a bound prisoner seems to be a standard New Kingdom iconographic convention for indicating a foreigner.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, a claim of Egyptian physical dominance over the foreign people in question is not necessarily implied. Some of the countries named in these lists (e.g., Babylon, Hatti, Assur, and Mitanni) were never dominated by Egypt, and their rulers were regarded by the Egyptian pharaoh as equals; yet these names too are inscribed on the Kom el-Hetan statue-base lists in fortified ovals surmounted by bound prisoners.<sup>101</sup> Thus the Aegean List cannot be seen as a statement that the Aegean was physically under Egyptian domination at the time of Amenhotep III.

However, the Aegean List might have some political implications, for it has been speculated elsewhere that this inscription may well be the itinerary of a diplomatic embassy sent to the Aegean during the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>102</sup> The sites listed can be explained as the ports of call made by the voyagers while in the Aegean area. This would resolve other questions, such as why the city of Amnisos appears twice in the list: Amnisos was a great port and would have been a logical stopping place for voyages leaving from and then returning to Egypt. Although the Aegean List has a few internal inconsistencies as an itinerary if the sites are followed exactly in the order inscribed, such inconsistencies are being eliminated one by one, as new interpretations of the names on the list are offered and accepted.<sup>103</sup> The ordering of the sites is, moreover, not irreconcilable with a geographical itinerary, since it follows a roughly circular pattern from Crete, to mainland Greece, to Crete again. The Aegean List might thus be literally interpreted as a route to and around the Aegean from the eastern Mediterranean.

Why might it be suggested that the Aegean List is the itinerary of an official embassy rather than merely that of a commercial voyage? First, as noted elsewhere,<sup>104</sup> most of the sites listed are either major citadels of the Mycenaeans and Minoans or the port cities for these citadels. The inclusion of these particular names in this list is no accident. The register reads like a Who's Who of the polities of consequence in the Late Helladic/Late Minoan IIIA Aegean, which no diplomatic embassy could afford to ignore or overlook. More importantly, there is a striking correlation between the sites

100. Redford (1982) 55–56.

101. See Kitchen (1965) 1–4, pls. VI–IX; Knapp (1992a) 65–67; idem (1992b) 124.

102. For a full explanation see previously Cline (1987) 1–36; idem (1994) 38–42; also idem (1990–91) 22–26; and idem (1995) 94–95. See also Redford (1982) for other examples of geographical itineraries during the New Kingdom.

103. See, e.g., Edel (1988). O'Connor (1996) 56–59 discusses the possibility that at least some of the other lists on the statue bases at Kom el-Hetan (i.e. A<sub>n</sub>-D<sub>n</sub>) are also itineraries.

104. Cline (1990–91) 25.



inscribed on this list and the sites in the Aegean area that have yielded objects inscribed with the cartouche of Amenhotep III or Queen Tiye.

All told, there are six sites in the Aegean area where objects inscribed with the cartouche of Amenhotep III or Queen Tiye have been found in good Late Bronze Age contexts (map 3). These unique objects consist of a frit vase, six or more faience plaques (fig. 7.3), and seven scarabs; they have been found at Mycenae and Ayios Elias on the Greek mainland, at Ialysos on Rhodes (fig. 7.4), and at Ayia Triadha, Khania, and Knossos (Sellopoulo) on Crete.<sup>105</sup> Of these six sites, four are also inscribed on Amenhotep III's Aegean List statue base at Kom el-Hetan. These are Knossos, Phaistos/Ayia Triadha, Khania/Kydonia, and Mycenae.<sup>106</sup> There is now, in addition, another scarab of Amenhotep III, found at Panaztepe, near Troy on the western coast of Anatolia.<sup>107</sup> Although Panaztepe is too far to the south of Troy to add a fifth correlation to this list (Troy/Panaztepe), the discovery of this scarab shows that there was some kind of contact, either direct or indirect, between Egypt and northwest Anatolia at this time. More importantly, it lends credence to Edel's still controversial reading of the ninth name on the Aegean List (*W3-jw-r-jj-i*) as *Ilios* (Troy). The correlation between these findspots and the names on the Aegean List is unlikely to be coincidental (see map 3). Moreover, while Egyptian scarabs could occasionally make their way to the Aegean as trinkets, souvenirs, or bric-a-brac, the faience plaques of Amenhotep III found at Mycenae are far more unusual. As Hankey has stated, they

are not traveler's trinkets or the product of casual trade, and are likely to have arrived at Mycenae in a formal manner.<sup>108</sup>

The findspots of these plaques at Mycenae indicate, moreover, that their religious nature was understood by the Mycenaeans, even if they were not used in exactly the same manner as they would have been in Egypt (e.g., in a foundation deposit under a temple).<sup>109</sup>

The Sellopoulo scarab in particular, found virtually unused in a Late Minoan IIIA1 tomb, suggests that these inscribed objects of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye in the Aegean began arriving during the Late Helladic/Late Minoan IIIA1 period, a time at least partially concurrent with the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>110</sup> The correlation between the Aegean List and the Aegean findspots of these Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye objects suggests further that all of these objects may have arrived in the Aegean together, possibly as the result of a single voyage.<sup>111</sup>

It may be suggested that the inscribed objects of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye found in the Aegean area, particularly the faience plaques, are the remnants of a pharaonic gift (or gifts) sent by Amenhotep III. Fully nine of the aforementioned fourteen Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye royally inscribed objects in the Aegean are found at Mycenae. It seems likely, therefore as suggested previously elsewhere,<sup>112</sup> that such an Egyptian embassy, if it did exist and occur, was directed specifically toward Mycenae, although stops elsewhere in the Aegean were necessarily included on both the outbound and return legs of the voyage. This destination should not be a cause for surprise, since the site of Mycenae was surging to the forefront of the Mycenaean world during the time of Amenhotep III; during the following reign of Akhenaten (e.g., during the Late Helladic/Late Minoan IIIA2-B periods in the Aegean), there was a tremendous increase in the quantity of Mycenaean exports to Egypt, Syria-Palestine, and Cyprus. There was also a tremendous change in the distribution of Egyptian and Near Eastern objects, from Crete to the Greek mainland, after 1300 B.C. The large number of Egyptian objects, both inscribed and uninscribed, found at Mycenae suggests that this site may well have been the focal point of such an Egyptian embassy and that there may

105. Detailed descriptions and references for each of the objects can be found in Cline (1987) 8–12, figs. 3–14, table 1, and idem (1990) 200–212. Several additional scarabs of Amenhotep III found in the Aegean area and in Anatolia are of only passing interest since they were found in contexts dating to much later than the reign of Amenhotep III; they may in fact be much later copies. These include scarabs in eighth- and seventh-century contexts on mainland Greece—namely, those found below the second temple at the Argive Heraion and in the Precinct of Poseidon at Sounion, which Pendlebury hypothesized were later Twenty-sixth Dynasty imitations (see Pendlebury [1930b] 59, nos. 108–9, 111–12; 83, no. 202)—and a scarab found in a Phrygian level at Fraktin in central Anatolia; see Özgüç (1955) 306–7, fig. 36.

106. See previously the maps in Cline (1987) maps 1–2; idem (1990–91) map 3; idem (1994) map 3; now also Haider (1996) fig. 6.

107. The scarab of Amenhotep III (PZ 85/24) discovered at Panaztepe is made of faience or frit and is inscribed *Nb-m3't-R' h'(w) nfr(w) nfr(w)* (Neb-maat-Ra, Appearing in Beauty). It was found in Panaztepe N-12, within a pithos grave (Grave L) probably to be dated to the Late Helladic IIIA period (fourteenth century B.C.). Elsewhere in the cemetery was Late Helladic IIIA pottery (a jar, two *kylikes*, an *alabastron*, and two stirrup jars), as well as local pottery; bronze weapons, tools, and utensils; seal stones; gold, glass, and silver jewelry; and a second Eighteenth Dynasty scarab. See Erkanal (1986) 258; Mellink (1987) 13; Warren and Hankey (1989) 148; Jaeger and Krauss (1990) 153–56, figs. 1–2; Cline (1990–91) 24. Yet another faience scarab (PZ 85/25), inscribed *Imn-R'* (Amon-Ra) and dating from the time of Amenhotep III, was found in Panaztepe N-11, within a pithos grave holding three skeletons.

108. Hankey (1981) 46.

109. See extended discussion in Cline (1987) 10–11; idem (1990) 200–212; idem (1995) 94–95.

110. Popham, Catling, and Catling (1974) 217; Muhly (1991) 242–44; Manning (1991) 254.

111. See Cline (1987) 11–13 and idem (1990) 208–9 for a full explanation of this reasoning; also now idem (1995) 94.

112. Cline (1990–91) 25.



have been a special relationship between Egypt and Mycenae.<sup>113</sup> An Egyptian embassy sent to the Aegean in the reign of Amenhotep III would probably have had a dual mission: to reaffirm connections with an old, valued trading partner (the Minoans on Crete); and to establish relations with a new, rising power (the Mycenaeans on mainland Greece).<sup>114</sup>

Overall, the reign of Amenhotep III marked a high point in Egyptian diplomacy. During his years of rule, Egypt continued to conquer foreign lands and peoples, but via the pen rather than the sword. The series of treaties arranged at this time between Egypt and other Near Eastern powers (Ugarit, Mitanni, Babylon) are well known, as are the accompanying dynastic marriages between Amenhotep III and the daughters of Šuttarna II and Tušratta (Kings of Mitanni) and Kadašman-Enlil I (King of Babylon).<sup>115</sup> We know from Amarna Letters EA 31–32 that Amenhotep III also married the daughter of King Tarkhundaradu of Arzawa (located in southwestern Anatolia) at approximately this time.<sup>116</sup> This marriage undoubtedly cemented yet another diplomatic treaty. We now also have possible evidence, just presented, for an embassy to the Aegean. Why did all of these treaties and marriages suddenly occur? Amenhotep III's predecessors—Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV—had also consolidated their holdings via treaties and dynastic marriages, but their efforts pale in comparison to those of Amenhotep III. What had changed?

At this time, under the command of first Tudhaliya II and then Šuppiluliuma I, the fortunes of the Hittites in Anatolia were once again slowly beginning to rise. The emergence of the Hittites from their citadels in the highlands of Anatolia during the early fourteenth century B.C. posed a subtle threat to Egypt and its empire in Syria-Palestine. Thus, it is perhaps no surprise to realize that the treaties negotiated by Amenhotep III were initiated with the rulers of virtually all the lands surrounding the Hittite homelands, ranging from Amištamu I of Ugarit to Šuttarna II and Tušratta of Mitanni and Kadašman-Enlil I of Babylon.<sup>117</sup> Schulman has recently and convincingly suggested that most of Amenhotep III's foreign policies were aimed at leashing the growing power of the Hittites. As he says,

113. Cline (1991c) 62–64, 297–99; idem (1994) 41–42, 87.

114. Haider (1984) 26, 28; Cline (1987) 19–23; idem (1990–91) 23; Bernal (1991) 476–80.

115. See Amarna Letters EA 1–5, 17, 19–22, 24–25; Schulman (1979) 183–85; Moran (1992) 1–3, 6–11, 41–84, 101–3; Cline (1990–91) 26; Haider (1996) 149–52.

116. Moran (1992) 101–3.

117. See now Haider (1996) fig. 10.

it is possible to discern a deliberate policy of containment of Hatti on the part of Egypt. . . . Egypt's policy of containing Hatti via the alliances with Mitanni, Babylon and Arzawa (?) was successful until well after the appearance of Šuppiluliuma I as king of Hatti.<sup>118</sup>

The additional treaty probably signed with Arzawa would certainly have been in the best interests of Arzawa as well as Egypt, for Arzawa, like the other entities mentioned, had a relationship with Hatti that veered from hostile to friendly and back again over the course of several centuries, until the region was finally overrun by the Hittites under Muršili II.<sup>119</sup>

An Egyptian embassy to the Aegean—particularly one that stopped at Mycenae, Knossos, and Troy—may have been sent to conclude a similar treaty with the power(s) in the Aegean, with the aim of containing the Hittites or at least partially blocking them from expanding further to the west.<sup>120</sup> Such a scenario is supported by recent evidence that the Mycenaeans, identified here with the Ahhiyawans of the Hittite texts, actively encouraged anti-Hittite activities in western Anatolia and that the Hittites may have established an economic embargo against the Mycenaeans.<sup>121</sup> Egyptian anti-Hittite overtures, particularly those that benefited Mycenae, may have found an eager ally in the Aegean. Alternatively, the hostility and lack of trade between Mycenaeans and Hittites might well have been the *result* of an anti-Hittite treaty signed between Egypt and the Aegean during the time of Amenhotep III. However, while there is much circumstantial evidence to support this scenario, the existence of an Egyptian embassy to the Aegean and of a resultant treaty remains hypothetical at present. New evidence that might possibly support the hypothesis of such an Egypto-Aegean treaty may be seen in a fragment of papyrus from Amarna that depicts a group of what appear to be Mycenaean mercenaries rushing to the aid of a fallen Egyptian, possibly signifying some sort of alliance at precisely the time period under examination.<sup>122</sup>

118. Schulman (1988) 59–60.

119. Schulman (1979) 183–85, 189–90; Moran (1992) 101–3. Cf. Heinhold-Kramer (1977).

120. Suggested previously in Cline (1990–91) 26–27, 34–35; idem (1994) 41–42.

121. Bryce (1989a) 1–21; idem (1989b) 297–310; Cline (1991a) 1–9; idem (1991b) 133–43; idem (1994) 68–74. See now also Cline (1996).

122. Pendlebury (1951) 141; Parkinson and Schofield (1993); Schofield and Parkinson (1994).



### Conclusions

It has become clear in recent years that numerous merchants and traders were plying the seas between Egypt and the Aegean during the reign of Amenhotep III. While it must remain hypothetical, it seems likely that contacts between these two areas included occasional diplomatic embassies as well. Diplomatic overtures to the Aegean area would fit well with the archaeological and textual data that have been discovered in both Egypt and Greece and would be appropriate in light of Amenhotep III's treaties with the other major powers of the Late Bronze Age. The marriage arrangement and probable treaty signed between Amenhotep III and Tarkhundaradu of Arzawa shows that Amenhotep's emissaries were interested in the lands to the northwest. As mentioned, Egyptian anti-Hittite overtures, particularly those that benefited Mycenae, may have found an eager ally in the Aegean.

The relations of Amenhotep III to Anatolia and the Aegean set the stage for lasting commercial and diplomatic links to these areas. The finds of Aegean pottery at Akhenaten's capital city of Amarna are justifiably famous, while the evidence attesting to such imports during the Nineteenth Dynasty continues to accumulate.<sup>123</sup> Interaction between Egypt and Anatolia, which took a surprising twist when Ankhnesamen (or possibly Nefertiti) asked for a Hittite prince to sit on the throne of Egypt, reached a crescendo when Ramses II finally signed a peace treaty with Hattuşili III; however, this event occurred less than one hundred years before the Bronze Age itself came to an abrupt end.<sup>124</sup>

### Amenhotep III and Mesopotamia

*Kenneth A. Kitchen*

Very far away from Egypt, Mesopotamia is traditionally the land between the two rivers—the Great River, the river Euphrates, and, to its east, the river Tigris. The vast and long area so enclosed (particularly within the great western bend of the Euphrates) is hemmed in by the mountains of Armenia and Iran along its north and east and by the Syro-Arabian desert to the south and west.

In the mid-second millennium B.C., three major states occupied the terrain "between the rivers." The southeasternmost was Babylonia, by then termed officially as the kingdom of Karduniaš, ruled by a line of kings of

Kassite (non-Semitic) origin. Its northern pendant was Assyria, then a modest realm nominally under the ascendancy of Babylon, but at times more so under our third realm, its western neighbor Mitanni. This state occupied the great west bend of the Euphrates eastward to Assyria and was in place by ca. 1500 B.C. The peoples of Babylonia and Assyria were mainly Semitic speaking, their dialects comprising the Akkadian language. But the main population of Mitanni in the second half of the second millennium B.C. spoke Hurrian, an agglutinative language (adding qualifying elements in a "chain" to a base element), totally unlike Semitic Akkadian. However, names of members of the ruling dynasty in Mitanni were of Indo-Aryan type (cf. Sanskrit in India) and hence were related to the Indo-European family of languages that includes English, for example. So this realm was probably ruled by a dynasty of foreign, eastern origin.

### "My forefathers and your forefathers"—Egyptian-Mesopotamian Relations before Amenhotep III

The most enterprising of pharaohs, Thutmose I (ca. 1500 B.C.), is first explicitly known to have reached the banks of the river Euphrates on a sweeping military campaign up through Syria,<sup>125</sup> perhaps after an earlier raid by Amenhotep I.<sup>126</sup> Thutmose I left his visiting card in Mitanni territory by setting up a stela on the east side of the Euphrates, as reported by his grandson Thutmose III, who did the same.<sup>127</sup> The oldest Egyptian mention of the actual name *Mitanni* occurs in a damaged context under either Amenhotep I or Thutmose I.<sup>128</sup> All these sparse mentions have been dated to between ca. 1500 and ca. 1480 B.C. A generation later, in his Syrian campaigns, Thutmose III (ca. 1479–1425 B.C.) made a more lasting impact. His signal defeat of the pro-Mitannian coalition at Megiddo in ca. 1457 B.C. caused more distant rulers to take notice. So in year 24 (1456) diplomatic gifts arrived from "the ruler of Assyria"—mention of a large block of lapis lazuli of [x] deben weight is alone preserved to us.<sup>129</sup> His brilliant success in year 33

125. Campaign in Naharin (Mitanni): Breasted (1906) §§ 81, 85; Pritchard (1969) 234 top. Text: Sethe (1927) 9–10.

126. A view based on Thutmose I's prior claim on his Tombos stela of year 2; cf. Breasted (1906) §§ 67:3 and 73.

127. Ibid. § 478; Pritchard (1969) 239 end. Text: Sethe (1927) 697:5.

128. Brunner (1956) 323–27; Helck (1962a) 117 = idem (1971) 115–16. Text: Helck (1975d) 110–12.

129. Text: Sethe (1927) 671:8–9. Breasted misread *lapis* as "horses" and added in Syrian tribute here (see Breasted [1906] § 449).

123. Hankey (1981); Cline (1990–91) 29–30; idem (1994) 31–42.

124. Langdon and Gardiner (1920); Moran (1992) xxxviii n. 137.



(1447) brought further diplomatic gifts from Babylon (Sangara), Assyria (?) and the Hittites ("Great Hatti").<sup>130</sup> Assyria repeated the gesture in Thutmose III's year 40 (1440 B.C.)<sup>131</sup> and Hatti in year 41 (1439).<sup>132</sup>

Amenhotep II (ca. 1427–1401 B.C.) reached the Orontes River region twice. On the second occasion (year 7, 1421), on his way home through Canaan, he waylaid a Mitannian envoy carrying a clay tablet—"a messenger of the ruler of Naharin, with a clay tablet (letter) at his neck."<sup>133</sup> What an envoy of Mitanni might be doing so far south as the Plain of Sharon in Canaan is not immediately clear—perhaps carrying messages from Mitanni to encourage local rulers to reject Egyptian rule? At least this text gives us our sole Egyptian reference to clay tablets before the Amarna period.

The reign of Thutmose IV (ca. 1401–1391 B.C.) marked a turning point. He too professed to have marched as far as Naharin—we hear of "booty that His Majesty took in despicable [Nahar]in on his first victorious campaign."<sup>134</sup> But thereafter, peace broke out between these two powers. Overtures in that direction may already have been made by Mitanni under Amenhotep II;<sup>135</sup> but certainly some kind of peace treaty must have been concluded early under Thutmose IV, as he then proceeded to request to marry a daughter of the then Mitannian king, Artatama I—a request only granted at the seventh time of asking, as Artatama's grandson Tušratta was later at pains to point out.<sup>136</sup> This set the precedent for the repeated cementing of Egypto-Mitannian relations for the two reigns that followed. In the meantime, Assyria disappears from Egyptian records until late in the Amarna correspondence. But we do have later mention of Babylon's former relations with Egypt, prior to the time of the known letters late under Amenhotep III.

130. Ibid. §§ 484–85. Text: Sethe (1927) 700–701.

131. Breasted (1906) §§ 445–46 (misattributed to year 24). Text: Sethe (1927) 668 and 726.

132. Breasted (1906) § 525. Text: Sethe (1927) 727:12–14.

133. Pritchard (1969) 246. Text: Helck (1955) 1304/1314. Translation: Helck (1961) 38.

134. Breasted (1906) § 817; Cumming (1984) 256; Helck (1961) 147. Text: Helck (1957a) 1554. For allusions by officials: Breasted (1906) § 818; Cumming (1984) 306; Helck (1961) 179. Text: Helck (1957a) 1617.

135. Text: Helck (1955) 1326. Translation: Helck (1961) 45. See Cumming (1982) 39. While phrases about Mitannians bringing gifts and seeking peace could be treated as mere rhetorical flourishes, this may simply be the Egyptian official way of expressing such overtures. Cf. Helck (1962a) 161; idem (1971) 163–64.

136. Amarna Letter EA 29:16ff.; Moran (1992) 93. Cf. Amarna Letter EA 24, III:52ff. (ibid., 67 end).

### Amenhotep III and Babylon

After the brief encounter with Thutmose III in ca. 1447 B.C., known relations between Egypt and Babylon ran through three reigns in each case. Thus, Burnaburiaš II later wrote to one of Amenhotep III's successors, claiming that in days gone by his own forefather Kurigalzu (I) had loyally refused to support a Canaanite conspiracy to rebel against Egypt.<sup>137</sup> At his accession to power, Burnaburiaš had proposed to Amenhotep III that they should maintain the friendship that previously existed between the pharaoh and his own father.<sup>138</sup> That worthy was most likely Kadašman-Enlil I, whose correspondence with Amenhotep III also features in the Amarna Letters.<sup>139</sup> But we have no letters of Kurigalzu I; hence his reign probably preceded the Amarna correspondence, making him an earlier contemporary of Amenhotep III. We may then propose the following working regnal dates:<sup>140</sup>

#### EGYPT

Amenhotep III, 1391–1353

#### BABYLON

Kurigalzu I, ?–1375

Kadašman-Enlil I, 1375–1360

Burnaburiaš II, 1360–1333

On this basis, the conspiracy in Canaan spurned by Kurigalzu I would have fallen within the first fifteen years of the reign of Amenhotep III, and the incident (if we believe Burnaburiaš) would indicate good official relations between Egypt and Babylon relatively early in Amenhotep III's reign. It is reasonable to suggest that this state of affairs drew its origins from the initial

137. Amarna Letter EA 9; Moran (1992) 18–19. The identity of Nibkhururiya of Egypt is crystal clear to anyone who is prepared to look at the known facts. *Nib-* only transcribes Egyptian *neb* and never *nefer* (which always appears as *nap-* in cuneiform); Akhenaten had two brothers/sons to succeed him (Smenkhkare and Tutankhaten), whereas Tutankhamun had none—hence the Dahamunzu incident only fits at the death of Tutankhamun, not at that of Akhenaten. For previous presentations of these perfectly clear facts, see Kitchen (1968) 318–20; idem (1985) 44; idem (1989) 156–57.

138. Amarna Letter EA 6; Moran (1992) 12. Burnaburiaš II subsequently corresponded with Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (Amarna Letters EA 7–8, 10–15).

139. Amarna Letters EA 1–3, 5, and probably 4; Moran (1992) 1–11.

140. For the Kassite dates, cf. Brinkman (1976) 31; the dates I give in text eliminate the common solecism of failing to credit their accession-year periods to Mesopotamian kings. For the dating used for Amenhotep III, cf. Kitchen (1989) 153, more up-to-date than Went and Van Siclen (1976) and wholly independent of their study (despite the erroneous statements to the contrary printed in Mazar [1990] 291 n. 2; my response to Went and Van Siclen's chronology is in Kitchen (1978) 65–80 [on p. 69, read: "If (as not probable) . . ."]).



contacts made under Thutmose III and had continued under Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV (for which we currently possess no record). From remarks made by Kadašman-Enlil I,<sup>141</sup> it is clear that the womanizing Amenhotep III had successfully petitioned Kurigalzu I for the hand of a daughter in marriage, to cement their alliance—again, this event would have fallen in the first fifteen years of Amenhotep III's reign. But some twenty years later, the pharaoh set his sights on having a daughter of the next king, Kadašman-Enlil I, to renew politically the Egypto-Babylonian fraternity (while, doubtless, the previous princess had by now lost her youthful charm).

However, Kadašman-Enlil was not prepared to send a daughter to Egypt without feeling sure that he could thereafter maintain regular and open contact with her. He complained that he was unable to make any contact with his sister or get news of her (she whom Kurigalzu had sent to Amenhotep III earlier on). His complaint that foreign princesses who entered the pharaoh's ample harem simply seemed to disappear from sight was amusingly echoed a century later, when the Hittite queen Pudukhepa retailed back to Ramses II snippets of international court gossip that he had refused to allow her country's envoys to have access to a Babylonian princess in his harem.<sup>142</sup> Clearly, the pharaohs were not prepared to open up their harem quarters to just any foreign visitor. And Amenhotep III claimed that Kadašman-Enlil had not sent competent people who would really know the Babylonian king's sister from other royal ladies. The supremely self-confident pharaoh went even further. Not only did he denounce the Babylonian's envoys as a pack of unreliable liars, but he went so far as to suggest that the Babylonian ruler himself was so mercenary as to marry off his daughters to foreign potentates with the blatantly mercenary aim of getting presents back from his distant in-laws and (so to speak) raking in profit by marrying his girls off in this way.<sup>143</sup>

Such robust, rough-and-tumble exchanges were customary between monarchs, and Kadašman-Enlil was thick-skinned enough to brush it off. Certainly, the negotiations for a new Babylonian princess to go to Egypt were continued (Amarna Letter EA 2); and in due course Kadašman-Enlil I invited Amenhotep III to send emissaries to collect the young lady (Amarna Letter EA 3). But when the Babylonian king suggested that he in return might marry a daughter of the pharaoh, he got a rebuff: "From of old, no daughter of an

Egyptian king is given to anyone" (Amarna Letter EA 4).<sup>144</sup> To Near Eastern potentates, accustomed to full reciprocity in such matters, the Egyptian response must have seemed snobbish, even churlish. But in Egyptian terms, it reflected the potential claim to the throne that a royal daughter's husband might in principle have. Here was a collision in cultural norms. Even the Babylonian ruler's devious suggestion that Amenhotep might send some other girl in guise of a princess—"who would know . . . ?" (Amarna Letter EA 4)<sup>145</sup>—found no favor, as the pharaoh was unwilling to set any kind of precedent. The date of these animated negotiations between Egypt and Babylon is not certain, except that it fell so late in Amenhotep's reign that the correspondence was finally filed as of interest, at Amenhotep IV's new capital at Amarna (Akhetaten). Mention of great festivities to which the pharaoh had not invited Kadašman-Enlil (Amarna Letter EA 3:18–20) has led some scholars to suggest that this was a reference to one of the three jubilee festivals of Amenhotep III, in his regnal years 30, 34, and 37 (ca. 1362, 1358, 1355 B.C.), which is possible.

Egypt's reputation as a gold-bearing land had long since reached Babylon. The Kassite ruler would happily send a daughter in marriage to Amenhotep III, but he cannily linked his consent to Amenhotep III's sending him gold for his building project (Amarna Letter EA 4). To emphasize the urgency of his request, Kadašman-Enlil even histrionically claimed that, once he had finished the building, he would not accept Egypt's gold (if delivered too late)—even three thousand talents (some one hundred tons) worth—or send his daughter. This figure is probably as rhetorical as the rest of the king's speech.

We do not know whether Amenhotep actually sent the coveted gold to Babylon (or on time). But he did both promise and send some suitably lavish furnishings for Kadašman-Enlil's new palace—part with the letter, and part to follow when Kadašman-Enlil's messenger brought the latter's daughter to the pharaoh (Amarna Letter EA 5). So it was the pharaoh's turn to bargain this time round. The gifts immediately sent included four beds of ebony overlaid with gold (one also with ivory) and a matching ebony-and-gold headrest (Egyptian *wurussu*, transcribed into cuneiform as *uruššu*), plus ten ebony chairs with gold overlay (one being large). To these corresponded ten ebony footstools and others with gold and ivory trimming. The amount of gold used on the beds and chairs for this splendid suite amounted to seven minas and nine shekels, in our terms about three and a half kilograms or just over eight pounds. No doubt, these furnishings would be executed in Egyp-

141. Amarna Letter EA 1:10ff.; Moran (1992) 1.

142. *KUB XXI 38*, edited by Helck in Helck (1963) 87–97, esp. 93; translated into English in Kitchen (1982a) 84.

143. See the text of Amarna Letter EA 1:61–62; Moran (1992) 2.

144. Ibid. 8.

145. Ibid. 9.



tian style and taste; the ebony in question would have been the fine, dark wood *dalbergia melanoxylon*, well attested from ebony boxes in Egypt.<sup>146</sup>

Real gold-plated furniture, including ebony beds and the like, is known from Egypt of the late Eighteenth Dynasty, under Amenhotep III and Tutankhamun. Such a wooden chair, gold-adorned, once belonged to Princess Sitamun, a daughter of Amenhotep III.<sup>147</sup> And a solid ebony chair, inlaid in ivory and gold—made strong and small, for a boy king—came from the tomb of Tutankhamun.<sup>148</sup> Among the splendid beds found in that tomb, we may mention one (Cairo, Egyptian Museum no. J. 62016)—constructed of ebony, having overlays and inlays of silver, gold, and ivory<sup>149</sup>—directly reminiscent of the descriptions in Amarna Letter EA 5. And a further such subject of illustration is footstools, three being known from that same tomb. Two are decorated with gold and colored inlays, showing bound foreigners (reflecting the sentiment of Psalm 110:1, “till I make your enemies your footstool”; cf. Joshua 10:24),<sup>150</sup> while a simpler one is of ebony inlaid with ivory.<sup>151</sup> So even today it is possible for us to see original examples of the opulent presents sent between these ancient Near Eastern royal courts in the fourteenth century B.C.

Kadašman-Enlil I was succeeded by his son Burnaburiaš II in the last years of the reign of Amenhotep III. We possess just one letter from Burnaburiaš to Amenhotep III (Amarna Letter EA 6), in which the new Babylonian monarch announces himself to the pharaoh and seeks to continue the previous friendship between the two countries, courts, and royal families. But this particular relationship was probably short-lived, because the rest of Burnaburiaš's correspondence was exchanged with the new king Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (Amarna Letters EA 7–14).

#### Amenhotep III and Mitanni

From of old, under Thutmose III, both Egypt and Mitanni had sought to control North Syria, and under Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV a certain equilibrium had been reached, possibly with a formal peace treaty.<sup>152</sup> Thus, as Tušratta of Mitanni was later to remind Amenhotep IV in Amarna Letter EA 29 (very conveniently for us), Thutmose IV had requested a daughter in

marriage from Artatama I, Tušratta's grandfather, granted only after prolonged negotiation (“seventh time of asking”). In the next generation, the relatively young Amenhotep III had in turn requested the hand of a daughter of the next Mitannian king, Šuttarna I, reputedly sending her after the fifth and sixth time of asking. This happy royal international event is securely dated for us to year 10 of Amenhotep III (ca. 1382 B.C.) by one of his series of commemorative scarabs.

Year 10 under the Majesty of . . . Amenhotep III, and the Great Queen Tiye, whose father is Yuya and mother Tuya—marvels that were brought to His Majesty: the daughter of Šuttarna, Ruler of Naharin [= Mitanni], Giluk(h)epa, and the chief ladies of her harem, 317 women.<sup>153</sup>

We do not know for how long Šuttarna I continued to rule Mitanni thereafter—conceivably up to twenty years. At his death, the succession was blighted by intrigue and murder. An eldest son, Artassumara, had perhaps ruled for only a brief interval when he was assassinated, and the conspirators (led by one UD-ki) set his young(est) brother—our Tušratta—on the Mitannian throne as their intended puppet-ruler. Later claims made to the Mitannian throne by one Artatama (II) suggest that he was a middle brother (junior to Artassumara and senior to Tušratta), who had perhaps fled abroad for his life at the time of the murder and Tušratta's ensuing enthronement.

However Tušratta bided his time until he could in turn root out the murderous conspirators, his would-be masters. That done, he could pursue his own policies, including internationally. Thus we have his letter to Amenhotep III in which he sought to renew the alliance between Mitanni and Egypt (Amarna Letter EA 17). As Tušratta had successfully defeated a Hittite attack on his terrain, he could send not only the customary gifts-in-greeting to the pharaoh and Gilukhepa but also some specimens of the loot from his Hittite victory: a chariot and pair of horses, with a groom and a girl. His more “normal” gift comprised five chariots and horse teams, while gold jewelry and a vial of sweet-scented oil went to his sister Gilukhepa.

Later still, evidently in the late thirties of his reign, Amenhotep III requested in marriage a daughter of Tušratta himself. The aging Gilukhepa had perhaps lost her youthful charms, while politically the pharaoh may have deemed it wise to have a more personal bond with the reigning Mitannian ruler. But by now, Tušratta (like other Near Eastern rulers) had learned to regard Egypt as a bottomless purse of gold. So, while agreeing in principle to

146. See Lucas ([1962] 1989) 434–36.

147. Baker (1966) color plate IVb, opposite p. 56.

148. Ibid. 87, fig. 99; cf. Killen (1980) 61, § 9, pl. 99.

149. Ibid. 32, § 12, pl. 40; cf. Baker (1966) 102 ff.

150. Ibid. 83 and figs. 93–94.

151. Edwards (1972) cat. no. 16.

152. Cf. Kühne (1973) 20 and n. 85 with references.

153. Text: Helck (1957b) 1738, § 579, B. Recent translation: Davies (1992) 36–37.



send Amenhotep III a Mitannian princess, the reiterated theme of Tušratta's reply to the pharaoh is "please send me much gold, unworked" (Amarna Letter EA 19). This was for work on a memorial for his grandfather and as bride-price for his daughter to wed Amenhotep. His own gifts to the Egyptian ruler included a splendid goblet and two necklaces of gold and rich blue lapis lazuli, ten chariots and horse teams, and thirty slaves.

But Amenhotep III's response was evidently more economical than Tušratta's hopeful request. While promising his daughter within six months (Amarna Letter EA 20), Tušratta claimed that he had inspected the gold sent him (seemingly, publicly),<sup>154</sup> only to find materials very unlike gold. As Tušratta claims that "in Egypt, gold is more plentiful than dross," one surmises that Amenhotep III had included rather more of the reputedly rarer substance. But unabashed, he repeated his original request, sending further golden baubles, including a special necklace to last him one hundred thousand years (Amarna Letter EA 21). On the actual occasion of sending his daughter to Amenhotep III,<sup>155</sup> Tušratta dispatched a long letter to the pharaoh—but in Hurrian (Amarna Letter EA 24), instead of in Akkadian, the customary language of diplomacy.

When Gilukhepa came to Egypt a generation before, we learn only that 317 harem ladies had accompanied her; the concomitant gifts are left to our imaginations. However, for the arrival and endowment of Tušratta's daughter Tadukhepa, our imaginations have considerably more data to work on. Two major tablets provide us with two remarkable and complementary lists of gifts. One series is clearly intended for the pharaoh himself, with chariots, weapons, and so on (Amarna Letter EA 22); the other series is a dowry fit for a princess (Amarna Letter EA 25), with its earrings, toggle pins, bracelets, mirrors, combs, necklaces, ointment vessels, and the like. Some 270 women and 30 men accompanied this princess as part of her dowry, only slightly less than her predecessor had.

The wealth and opulence reflected in these gift lists is very considerable. In the list of dowry items that accompanied Tadukhepa, the wide variety of gold and gold-mounted treasures included (amid much else) sixteen gold bracelets weighing 390 shekels, two more at 30 shekels, and ten iron bracelets, their gold decor at 30 shekels. Then, skipping minor items, 100 shekels of gold went on trimming buttoned boots. Various receptacles (washbasins, a dipper, etc.) accounted for another 167 shekels of gold and for 100 of silver. A heart and a bowl totaled 50 shekels, and thirty more gold hearts took 900 shekels.

154. If one follows Moran (1992) 48 (lines 46 ff).

155. So also Kühne (1973) 33; Wilhelm (1989) 32.

A long series of rhytons, or drinking horns, totaled well over 271 shekels (not all figures survive). A handsome array of jewels and vessels for "the two leading ladies-in-waiting" (313 shekels for one and 208 for the other) came to 521 shekels of gold by weight. Two pages were given gold bracelets, at 74 shekels, while, for example, 1,540 shekels of silver went on serving-men's adornments. The fourth and final column of the tablet, much damaged, once listed still further gifts in silver and gold, besides a wealth of blankets, garments, vials of scent, and fine bronzeware. Thus, in total the 2,333 shekels of gold in the surviving text of this list is distinctly less than all the gold originally given and listed. But that inadequate figure works out at some thirty-nine minas or almost two-thirds of a talent of gold—or some twenty kilograms (forty-four pounds) in our terms. In 1993, with the price of gold usually at over \$300/£200 per troy ounce, the mere bullion value of Tušratta's wedding gifts ran to well over \$211,000 (probably a quarter of a million dollars) or some £150,000 in sterling—not a bad send-off for a young lady, and not too often equaled in our own day.

The quite separate list of gifts to the pharaoh himself (Amarna Letter EA 22) boasted chariots and their equipment, weapons in abundance, bracelets, garments, implements, and vessels—again, incompletely preserved—and comprised at least 767 shekels' weight of gold (nearly thirteen minas, or one-fifth of a talent), about six kilograms (thirteen and one-fourth pounds) in our terms. Using the same 1993 value base, that would be something over \$64,000/£43,000 as mere bullion. So, leaving aside the considerable sum of silver, the real value of all the other gifts, and the travel and maintenance expenses of the bridal cavalcade, the total of gold alone lavished on this wedding had a bullion value today of over \$275,000 or probably over £200,000 all told. In terms of the wealth of ancient states, we need not imagine that Tušratta had stripped the Mitanni treasury totally bare to achieve this; while such a wedding doubtless burned quite a hole in his pocket, one shrewdly suspects that the state treasury still had considerable reserves above these sums. After all, other daughters were probably married off to other potentates; and Mitanni (like all such states) continually drew on tribute from vassals, tax on population, and benefit from ongoing trade.

Princesses, however, were not the only ladies known to have traveled between Mitanni and Egypt. Perhaps by oracle, the goddess Sausga of Nineveh (a Hurrian equivalent of Ishtar) decided that she should visit Egypt, just as she had done under Tušratta's father Šuttarna II, much earlier in Amenhotep III's reign (Amarna Letter EA 23). But, unlike the princesses, Sausga traveled on a return ticket, so to speak. It has often been suggested that this goddess's visits were intended to bring healing to the aging pharaoh.



While Amenhotep III was probably beginning to age by his regnal year 36 (ca. 1356 B.C.), this was certainly not the case at the time of Sausga's visit twenty or twenty-five years earlier; and the letter makes no clear reference to Sausga coming as a healer. As Moran has more realistically suggested,<sup>156</sup> Sausga's visits on both occasions may have been related to the arrival of the two Mitannian princesses in Egypt, as she and Amon are invoked to enable each princess to be(come) "the image of the king's desire." The tablet concerning the second such visit by Sausga bears a hieratic docket of year 36, when Amenhotep III had already received the princess Tadukhepa—so her arrival in Egypt may have been in year 35 or so (ca. 1357 B.C.). Doubtless the image of Sausga involved would have been a small, traveling image of the goddess (like the small image of Amon that traveled with his envoy Wenamun 270 years later), not her main cult statue in either Nineveh or Mitanni.

In these closing decades of Amenhotep III's life and reign, both kingdoms appeared to be bathed in an aura of wealth and worldly glory that seemed outwardly destined to last forever. Yet within only a few years of Amenhotep III's death (at the latest), Egypt became embroiled in the sweeping religious changes enacted by Amenhotep IV (becoming Akhenaten), whose interest in Near Eastern politics was much more spasmodic. In the meantime, fresh Hittite military activity and intrigues with the rival Mitannian princes Kurtiwaza (son of Tušratta) and Artatama II led to Tušratta's violent downfall and to the partitioning of his realm between these two, egged on by the Hittite and Assyrian monarchs, respectively, the Egypto-Mitannian alliance having floundered into oblivion. So soon did an outward "golden age" of opulent courtly exchanges go down in turmoil.

#### Concluding Sidelights

As was already remarked previously, the ostentatious exchanges of wealth have left practically no trace in the archaeological record. But here and there, one may glimpse traces of cultural interaction. Thus, a remarkable and well-known statue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, shows Amenhotep III wearing a fringed garment of possible Near Eastern origin or design under an Egyptian pleated overrobe,<sup>157</sup> perhaps the sort of garment sent by a king of Babylon or Mitanni. In total contrast, and within perhaps a decade or two of Amenhotep III's death, we find trace of an Egyptian exiled

156. Moran (1992) 62 n. 2.

157. See Hayes (1959) 237, fig. 142; recently Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 204–6, no. 23.

in humble circumstances in far-distant Babylonia, at Der,<sup>158</sup> toward the border with Elam. On a brick that bears a typical cuneiform dedication to the local deity of Der by Kurigalzu (II), two drawings are visible, scratched into the clay above and below the text. One is a sun disk and serpent, the other an image of the Egyptian deity Anhur-Shu, son of Ra. Both are of clearly Egyptian execution, if without artistic ability. They may well have been a wistful doodle done by some Egyptian captive, doomed to labor in the brickfields of Der, far from home.<sup>159</sup> Perhaps he had been captured in some conflict in Syria, then sold on as a slave into Babylonia; we will never know. But the statue and the brick illustrate well the vast range in space (one thousand miles) and in social scale (from pharaoh to slave) across which Egypto-Mesopotamian relations took place.

Given the very limited nature of the evidence for Egypto-Mesopotamian relations under Amenhotep III—a handful of royal letters and a few other scraps of data—only by according very careful attention to these meager sources can we extract the maximum of useful information from them. They reveal, sometimes amusingly, the clashes in cultural attitudes experienced between the courts of the different great states of the Near East and between them and Egypt. In royal marriages, the pharaoh looked for political bonds (and perhaps personal enjoyment?); the Kassite kings looked for gifts, almost ongoing payment, from their royal in-laws; the Hittite sovereign sought to bind vassals closer to his dominion; the Assyrian was out for whatever he could get.<sup>160</sup> Despite these varied outlooks, during the span of two centuries, from Thutmose III, via Amenhotep III, down to Ramses II and Merenptah, these various ancient rulers gradually learned, in part at least, to bear with one another's cultural and personal foibles in a world of early internationalism.

#### Amenhotep III and Nubia

*David O'Connor*

In the New Kingdom, Egypt's Nubian province incorporated about two-thirds of that vast region, namely, Lower (northern) and Upper (central) Nubia. Both were independent at the outset of the New Kingdom, and Upper

158. About 150 km/94 miles northeast from Babylon; cf. map in Roaf (1990) 179.

159. Publication: Smith (1932) 28–32, pl. III.

160. See Liverani (1990) 274–82 and amusingly 286. On international exchange and such royal marriages, see further Zaccagnini (1973) and Pintore (1978).



Nubia took a long time to subdue,<sup>161</sup> but by Amenhotep's reign Egypt's control was firm and well organized.

As a whole, the Nubian province was called Kush (a word that might have been applied to independent southern Nubia and elsewhere as well, since in theory, if not in actuality, these were part of Egypt's divinely ordained imperium), the name more specifically for Upper Nubia, as distinct from Lower Nubia, itself called Wawat. Kush—the Nubian province as a whole—was ruled on pharaoh's behalf by an Egyptian viceroy, the "king's son of Kush"; though the viceroy was often in Nubia, he nevertheless resided at Thebes, Egypt's southern capital, while his two "deputies" (of Kush and Wawat, respectively) actually saw to the day-to-day administration of the province.<sup>162</sup> A substantial Egyptian minority settled in throughout Nubia, but the majority of the population remained Nubian, its affairs for the most part run by indigenous rulers, perhaps three in Wawat and six in Kush. Thus divided up into nine or more polities, the Nubians lacked the political and military unity they had experienced earlier under the "Kingdom of Kush,"<sup>163</sup> and their rulers, treated by the Egyptians as integral parts of the imperial bureaucracy, ensured responsiveness to Egyptian expectations and demands.<sup>164</sup>

The Nubian province was important in several ways to Amenhotep, as to other New Kingdom rulers. It served both to protect the southern border of Egypt itself from pressure or attack from independent Nubian polities, and as a base of operations from which such independent polities (in southern Nubia and elsewhere) could be contacted, intimidated, or attacked, depending on circumstances. Ideologically, the extensive Nubian province, with its exotic populations, contributed powerfully to the actuality of the New Kingdom image of pharaoh as "world ruler." And, finally, Nubia was of great economic value.<sup>165</sup>

For that value to continue, the Nubian province could not be mindlessly exploited and in fact required substantial investment; its frontiers had to be defended, its Egyptian minority supported, and its indigenous peoples as-

sured of subsistence and, in the event, permitted considerable social complexity. Thus, much of the province's output was consumed within it.

Nevertheless, it not only paid taxes to the pharaoh but provided estates for many temples in Egypt itself (as well as Egyptian temples implanted in Nubia), while its people (like the Egyptians themselves) were periodically levied for military, labor, and other purposes. Even more importantly, the Nubian province facilitated access to raw materials highly desired in Egypt and the Near East. However, the sources of these materials lay well outside Egypt's direct control or required extraordinary efforts to bring them under such control; and even with such efforts, Egypt's control of the sources was probably only intermittent. Far out in the deserts to the east and southeast were rich gold-bearing areas, known and exploited by Egyptians, Nubians, and others since early times;<sup>166</sup> these were of special interest in the New Kingdom, when gold became a key resource in Egypt's diplomatic relationships with other greater and lesser powers.<sup>167</sup> Other desired items—ivory, ebony, incense, exotic animals and their skins—were produced by animals, plants, and trees that, for environmental reasons,<sup>168</sup> were not available in the Nubian province or its immediate environs. Rather, they were found in southern Nubia or beyond it—east of the Atbara River, or across the Bayuda Desert and the Gezireh, and extending further east into the rugged highlands separating, today, Ethiopia from the Republic of the Sudan.

Egypt's responses to these circumstances were twofold. To some extent, it tried to gain direct control over some of the gold-bearing regions; but to secure other gold and the exotic materials previously mentioned, it had to make contact with independent southern Nubia, with Punt on the Red Sea coast, and probably with other polities between the two. The story of these contacts remains to be told; southern Nubia, for this period, is archaeologically unknown for the most part,<sup>169</sup> and the location of Punt (referred to relatively often in Egyptian texts) has not yet been precisely fixed or its archaeology explored.<sup>170</sup> However, Egypt's relations with remote Punt—largely maintained by shipping along the Red Sea coast—seem typically peaceful and based on exchange (masked in Egyptian sources as "tribute"). Relations with southern Nubia were probably more complex: while trading

161. On New Kingdom Nubia, see Säve-Söderbergh (1941) 141 ff.; Zibelius-Chen (1988). See also Trigger (1976) chap. 7; Adams (1977) chap. 9; O'Connor (1992) 252–71; idem (1993) chap. 5.

162. On the viceroys of Kush and their deputies, cf. Säve-Söderbergh (1941) 175 ff.; Habachi (1980) 630–39. Debate about individual viceroys and their chronological placement continues.

163. On the Second Intermediate Period (1640–1530 B.C.) Kingdom of Kush, cf. Bonnet (1986); idem (1990); O'Connor (1993) chaps. 3 and 4.

164. On the Nubian rulers, see most recently Säve-Söderbergh and Troy (1991) 182–211.

165. On Nubia's economic significance to Egypt, see Zibelius-Chen (1988); see Morkot (1987) 29–49; idem (1991) 294–301; Smith (1991) 77–102.

166. Vercoutter (1959) 120–53. Note that alluvial gold was available in northern Upper Nubia, but otherwise the principal gold deposits were in the eastern desert.

167. Drower (1973) 486–87.

168. On the ancient environment in Nubia and in northeast Africa generally, see Neumann (1989) 97–116; Grove (1993) 32–42.

169. See, e.g., Caneva (1991) 6–15; Marks (1991) 30–39.

170. On the location of Punt, see most recently Kitchen (1993b) 587–608; but note also the comments on the nature and location of Punt in O'Connor (1987) 99–136.



relationships may in fact have been the most typical ones, periodic hostilities between Egypt and (probably) this region indicate Egyptian attempts to make some of the southern Nubian polities client states, compelled to pay tribute although not under direct Egyptian control. Southern Nubians likely resisted these initiatives and in turn may themselves have attacked and raided the Nubian province itself.

These circumstances provide the context for the activities of Amenhotep III in and around the Nubian province, insofar as data on them have survived. Like other pharaohs, Amenhotep would certainly have renovated or expanded some of the already existing Egyptian temples in Nubia,<sup>171</sup> and as we have seen elsewhere in this book, he had two completely new and major temples built, at Soleb and Sedeinga in northern Upper Nubia.<sup>172</sup> While much of the symbolic meaning of these two temples may have derived from their position in a "system" of temples and cults extending through Egypt as well (see my discussion in chapter 5 of this book), they were surely assigned extensive estates and much personnel in Nubia itself, so their regional impact should not be minimized.<sup>173</sup> For the most part, as far as we know, the internal administration of the Nubian province continued unchanged.<sup>174</sup> But Amenhotep sponsored at least two major military campaigns,<sup>175</sup> which seem to have reflected the previously discussed policies that Egypt pursued outside of the province.

The "first campaign of victory" occurred in the fifth regnal year, the second much later, after the thirtieth. Both were seemingly not mere raids or police actions but substantial and well-organized initiatives. The first, led by the pharaoh personally, netted thirty thousand or at least "many thousands" of prisoners,<sup>176</sup> implying that a very large Egyptian force was involved. The second is more ambiguous in these regards, for the Egyptian force—led by a viceroy of Kush, not the king—was based on levies that may have called

171. Evidence, often fragmentary, linking Amenhotep III to Nubian temples is found at el-Sebua, Kubban, Aniba, Sai, and Kawa, as well as at Soleb and Sedeinga; cf. Porter and Moss (1975) royal index, s.v. "Amenophis III."

172. Kozloff and Bryan (1993) 85–90; Leclant (1984a) 780–82; idem (1984b) 1076–80. See chaps. 3 and 5 in the present book.

173. On the economic roles of Egyptian temples in Nubia, see Kemp (1978a) 21–43, 283–97, 368–73.

174. On the viceroys of Kush under Amenhotep III, see Habachi (1980) 632–33, no. 12; but see also Topozada (1988) 156–57.

175. See the persuasive, if not fully decisive, arguments for two campaigns in Topozada (1988) 153 ff.

176. Helck (1957b) 1666.10 (which can be read as "thirty thousand" or as "tens of thousands"). See idem (1961) 203; Davies (1992) 9.

on many or fewer communities in the Nubian province,<sup>177</sup> and the total Nehasyu slain or captured as a result were only about one thousand; however, special circumstances might be involved in this campaign and are discussed later.

The significance, aims, and even locales of these campaigns remain debatable, for the evidence available enables us to make plausible suggestions but not firm conclusions. Thus, the campaign of year 5 is associated with precise dates, but paradoxically, these are of uncertain significance;<sup>178</sup> and the relevant texts (principally three commemorative stelae, one each established at Sai in Upper Nubia, at Konosso, and near Aswan)<sup>179</sup> are generalized in content. This last circumstance, however, highlights and suggests we take seriously such specific information as is provided.

The texts indicate that Amenhotep's campaign preempted or responded to a "rebellion" led by a Nubian ruler referred to as the "overthrown one" of both Kush and Ta-Zety,<sup>180</sup> a ruler who—in highly unusual fashion for any phase of the New Kingdom—is further identified by name as "Ikheny, the boastful one in the midst of his army."<sup>181</sup> The specificity of this ruler is further reinforced iconographically, for on one of the commemorative stelae (the one naming Ikheny), Amenhotep III, within the context of a conventional scene of him smiting the enemy,<sup>182</sup> is more unusually depicted as trampling an agitated, prostrate figure.<sup>183</sup> Although not labeled, this man's

177. From villages (*w'yt*) between the fortresses of Baki (in Lower Nubia) and Taroy (location unknown), a specified distance of perhaps 546 km. See Helck (1957b) 1659.15–18; idem (1961) 200; Davies (1992) 6; and Topozada (1988) 154.

178. E.g., of two commemorative stelae, one opens with the date "third month of the akhet season, day 2" (Helck [1957b] 1665.15), another with the date "second month of the akhet season, day 2[4]" (idem [1959] 1959.11). The latter date has been identified as the date that Amenhotep III's army arrived at Sai (Topozada [1988] 163), or as the date that the Nubian rebellion was reported to the king, in Egypt (Dehler [1984] 80); the former date as that of the victory over the Nubians (Topozada [1988] 163; Dehler [1984] 80). However, Gundlach has suggested that both dates refer to times when the campaign was already over and date the orders issued to have the stelae erected (Gundlach [1987] 187).

179. The three commemorative stelae are labeled the "second stela . . . between . . . Aswan and Philae" (Helck [1957b] 1665–66, no. 567; see idem [1961] 203 and Davies [1992] 8–9), the Konosso stela (Helck [1957b] 1661–63, no. 565; see idem [1961] 201–2 and Davies [1992] 6–7), and the "fragment" (of a commemorative stela) from Sai (Helck [1959] 1959, no. 739; see idem [1961] 335). For other texts related specifically (not inferentially) to this campaign, see Topozada (1988) 155, no. 9; 156, no. 10.

180. For Kush, cf. the Aswan-Philae stela (Helck [1957b] 1666.4, 1666.12, 1666.16) and the Konosso stela (ibid. [1957b] 1662.10). For Ta-zety, see the Sai fragment (Helck [1959] 1959.17).

181. Ibid. 1666.13.

182. On such scenes, see generally Hall (1986).

183. Lepsius (1849–59) V (Denkmaeler des Neuen Reichs): pl. 81g.



paradoxically honored position (in physical contact with the pharaoh) implies that he is an enemy of very high status, and hence—as a “rebellious” ruler—he is subject to a particularly vivid humiliation, that is, being trampled on by the pharaoh. We can reasonably conclude that Ikheny himself is being represented here.

Amenhotep's army invaded the enemy's territory and defeated his forces, but the nature of the rebellion and the locale or locales in which the fighting took place remain uncertain. The “rebellion,” given the ideological slant of Egyptian texts such as these, may have been literally that, an uprising of a supposedly tributary Nubian ruler, perhaps within the Nubian province itself. Or the term *rebellion* might equally well have referred to the actions of a ruler outside the province, independent or semi-independent, who planned to attack the province or defied Egyptian claims of domination.

The issue of locale is therefore very important; *where* the campaign occurred determines whether we are dealing with an internal rebellion or an external threat. Unfortunately, the name Kush, as employed in these texts, could refer to Upper Nubia, the entire Nubian province, or regions beyond the province; and Ta-Zety is even more vague in geographical terms.<sup>184</sup> In association with the year 5 campaign, gold was brought back from Karoy, which apparently lay immediately south of the Nubian province and must have included gold-bearing (if arid) lands east of the valley.<sup>185</sup> However, this event may have been incidental to the campaign itself. Finally, one text states that before he returned to Egypt from Kush, Amenhotep had a “stela of victory” set up at the “*kebhew* of Horus (the Egyptian god),” but unfortunately the location of this spot and even its geographical relationship to the Nubian province are uncertain.<sup>186</sup>

Our most specific (but still ambiguous) clue to the campaign's locale is provided by the stela at Konosso, on which Amon-Ra, the imperial god, is shown presenting to Amenhotep—as subject territories—four Nubian lands. These are Kush, Irem, Tarek, and Weresh, the specificity of their differentiation by name being reinforced by further differentiation in iconographic details. These circumstances in their totality suggest that this emblematic group would help us to pinpoint the campaign's locale if we could

184. Zibelius (1972) 165–69 (Kush); Säve-Söderbergh (1941) index geographica, s.v. *t3 stj* (Ta-Zety).

185. For the reference to Karoy, see Helck (1957b) 1654.14–15; on Karoy, see Zibelius (1972) 162–63.

186. Gundlach suggests the area of Bigeh, near Aswan, is meant (see Gundlach [1987] 193); but other, more remote locations are also possible. For the text, Helck (1957b) 1662.12; Davies (1992) 7.

fully understand what is implied by the scene.<sup>187</sup> But its implications are not clear.

Unfortunately, this emblematic group representing four Nubian lands can be interpreted in a variety of ways. First, we can read it as referring to four separate entities, namely, Kush (meaning the Nubian province and perhaps additional regions outside of it) and three other lands, which would presumably have been even further afield. However, we might alternatively understand the name Kush as referring to the Nubian province, regions beyond it, or both, and the three other lands as *parts* of Kush and hence perhaps located within the province or, equally plausibly, outside of it.

What is the relationship of the emblematic group to the actual campaign? Perhaps only Kush itself is relevant (since the enemy is identified as the ruler of Kush); the other three lands, perhaps lying outside of Kush, might represent other major entities not directly involved in the campaign and referred to here only to indicate the great breadth of the southern foreign lands over which Amenhotep has been assigned dominion by Amon-Ra. But if the three lands other than Kush are to be related to the campaign, how can their multiplicity be reconciled with the emphasis given to a *single* enemy ruler in the Egyptian texts? Should we imagine that “Ikheny the braggart” had combined under his military leadership—perhaps only on a temporary basis—three Nubian lands or polities or even four (treating Kush in this context as a separate entity outside the Nubian province)?<sup>188</sup> If this were so, it would be likely to provoke an Egyptian response on a large scale, as Amenhotep's campaign seems to have been, but the scenario sketched here can only be speculative.

In these circumstances, the actual locations of the three lands (other than Kush) named in the emblematic representation are of interest but are not conclusive as to the locale(s) in which Amenhotep's campaign culminated. The location of Weresh is completely unknown;<sup>189</sup> Tarek is little better off, although in lists of southern lands its name often occurs near the name Irem, and hence it may have been in Irem's vicinity.<sup>190</sup> Irem itself seems definitely

187. Lepsius (1849–59) V (Denkmaeler des Neuen Reichs): pl. 82a. Each of the four toponyms is within an oval, from which the torso of a bound prisoner emerges. The distinctive hairstyle of the figure representing Weresh is very obvious; the facial differentiations, while evident, may be due more to Lepsius's artist than to reality.

188. Other enemy coalitions encountered by the Egyptians include that met by Thutmose III at Megiddo (Redford [1992] 155 ff.) and the Libyan campaign Ramses III fought in his fifth regnal year (O'Connor [1990] 40, 52 ff., 67 ff.).

189. Zibelius (1972) 104 (*wrš* and *wrt*).

190. Ibid. 177–78 (*trk*).



to lie outside of the Nubian province (despite opinions to the contrary),<sup>191</sup> suggesting that if Irem's mention on the stela is related to Amenhotep's campaign (and this cannot be shown conclusively), then that campaign also, at least in part, extended beyond the province itself. A more precise location for Irem is hard to determine, but it may have included a northerly segment of southern Nubia, as well as contiguous regions east and west.<sup>192</sup>

At best, then, one can say that Amenhotep's year 5 campaign in Nubia was very substantial and may have involved part of southern Nubia or may even have been principally focused on that region (as the linkages to Karoy and perhaps Irem suggest). But at present these remain informed speculations, not established historical reality.

A fragment of another important historical text, the so-called Bubastis Inscription,<sup>193</sup> is often connected to this or another campaign of Amenhotep III, but this datum is very tenuous. First, it may not refer to his reign at all;<sup>194</sup> and second, while the locales of the events described clearly relate to Nubia, their exact locations are unknown. Laid out in annalistic fashion,<sup>195</sup> the incomplete text (inscribed originally on a now long-gone temple wall)<sup>196</sup> refers twice to clashes with Nubians and describes military movements related several times to an evidently well-known geographical feature, "the Tjesu<sup>197</sup> of Huwa," south of which was a land called Weneshek, or perhaps Aweneshek or the like.<sup>198</sup> Unfortunately, neither can be located<sup>199</sup> (although Topozada has recently suggested, very implausibly, that the "Tjesu of Huwa" is the Gezireh, the area between the Blue and White Niles south of Khartoum),<sup>200</sup> and so the nature of the campaign involved remains obscure.

191. On Irem, the most recent discussion is Kitchen (1993a) 87–90.

192. Cf. O'Connor (1987) 99–136.

193. Helck (1957b) 1734–36, no. 577. See idem (1961) 233; Davies (1992) 35–36.

194. No royal name occurs in the surviving text, and the original excavator dated it earlier than the New Kingdom, although this is now the date universally ascribed it; cf. Breasted (1906) 337.

195. On annalistic sources in general, see Redford (1986). See on the Bubastis Inscription specifically a recent commentary in Spalinger (1982) 152–53.

196. See the description of the context in which the fragment was discovered, in Naville (1891) 8–10.

197. Helck (1957b) 1735.1, 1735.13, 1736.3, 1736.6.

198. Ibid. 1736.6; the first part of the word is imperfectly preserved, hence several readings are possible.

199. Zibelius (1972) 104 (*wnk*), 145–46.

200. Topozada (1988) 162. See also Topozada's interesting but speculative treatment of the Nubian campaigns of Amenhotep III (ibid. 157–64), and note the discussion in Goedicke (1992) 13–51.

In fact, it may relate to activities along the African shore of the Red Sea, rather than to inland Nubia.<sup>201</sup>

Our understanding of the second, later campaign is also fraught with uncertainty. It depends on a single, incomplete text on a commemorative stela celebrating the initiative in question.<sup>202</sup> The text implies that the people (rather than a specific ruler) of a Nubian inhabited land called Ibhet intended to attack Egyptian interests in Nubia or at least to oppose Egyptian claims to dominate or influence them.<sup>203</sup> Merymose, the viceroy of Kush, was aware of this and waited until the people of Ibhet were preoccupied with their harvest, then assembled a military force from various centers in the Nubian province and launched what he saw as a successful attack on Ibhet, securing victory in a single battle. Cattle are mentioned (obscurely) in connection with the attack; 740 prisoners were taken, and 312 Nubians were killed.

Two issues are important here. Where was Ibhet; and why, after seemingly rather large-scale preparations by the Egyptians, are the numbers of slain or captured Nubians so small? Ibhet, apparently a desert locale, might be connected with the gold-bearing regions, but there are no clear indications available about its location.<sup>204</sup>

If Ibhet was in the eastern desert, its people may indeed have somehow threatened Egyptian access to gold-bearing regions and would, moreover, have been nomadic or seminomadic. That they raised crops is not incompatible with nomadism (that they were nomads is perhaps hinted at by the reference to cattle), although—in terms of recent patterns at least—the mixture of crops and animals would suggest a location east or southeast of Upper, rather than Lower, Nubia.<sup>205</sup> The relatively small number of slain and captured Nubians might relate in part to the relatively small sizes of nomadic populations but also to the likelihood (fairly clearly implied in the text) that the Egyptians made a successful surprise attack on a population dispersed to carry out a harvest and did not have to face a special massing of forces intended to resist the Egyptian advance. Resistance might have been less than anticipated, and the single victory might have been sufficient to intimidate the rest of Ibhet. However, it must be said that all of these circum-

201. On a Red Sea locale for the events described in the Bubastis Inscription, see Faulkner (1955) 85–90.

202. The text is on the Semneh stela; see Helck (1957b) 1659–61, no. 564. See idem (1961) 200–201; Davies (1992) 5–6.

203. Helck (1957b) 1660.8.

204. Zibelius (1972) 74–75; see also Zibelius-Chen (1988) 153–54.

205. See Edwards (1989) 147–54.



stances could apply to riverine Nubians as well, who raised crops and also herded cattle, and who might also have been dispersed because of the needs of the harvest.

The prisoners recorded, relatively small in number as they are, might also indicate that the Egyptian strategy was not only to attack when the population was dispersed but also to target a particular group within the society of Ibhet. The list of prisoners is unusually circumstantial, as well as peculiar in its proportions. About 20 percent were Nehasyu, that is, Nubians; almost 15 percent some kind of soldier;<sup>206</sup> about 34 percent Nehasyu women; 7.4 percent servants of the Nehasyu; and almost 24 percent children. Normally, one might expect males (as more desirable, more easily exploitable prisoners) to outnumber women and children. The opposite circumstance in this case and the presence of specialist warriors (a bodyguard?) and servants (rarely referred to with regard to Nubians) suggest that we might have here an elite group (men, women, and children) and their attendants. No ruler is identified (and surely would have been), but perhaps the Egyptians had captured some of his close relatives or at least a group of such a high status that their capture provided valuable hostages and encouraged the Egyptians to withdraw to negotiate from a position of strength. However, these circumstances could apply to a riverine population as much as to a desert one.

The record of military activity in and around Nubia under Amenhotep III raises some intriguing possibilities. Perhaps, once the conquest of the Nubian province had stabilized, the policies of later Eighteenth Dynasty rulers like Amenhotep III, and after them the Ramessides, were principally focused on increased exploitation of the eastern gold mines, on the one hand, and on the inherently volatile relationship with polities in independent southern Nubia, on the other.<sup>207</sup> However, while the available evidence permits some speculation, it as yet provides no conclusive confirmation.

206. For this list, see Helck (1957b) 1660.11–19; Zibelius-Chen (1988) 120 identifies the *mgy* included in the list as “Jungkriegen.”

207. On these, see O'Connor (1987) 124–35.

## Chapter 8

# The Dawn of the Amarna Age

*John Baines*

The late Eighteenth Dynasty as a whole has aroused great controversy among ancient historians and students of religion, centering around the reign of Akhenaten (generally known as the Amarna period). Without going into detail over chronology, one can place the events of that period around 1350 B.C., a time when there was also great change in the Near East. Rather little is certain about the revolutionary episode in Egypt, even though the later Eighteenth Dynasty is one of the best-known periods of Egyptian history. There is no consensus over the historical interpretation of the events of the time. Since the Amarna period followed the reign of Amenhotep III, which forms the subject of this book, it is desirable to explore the connections between these two phases for the light each may be able to shed on the other.

## The Reforms of Akhenaten

The essential features of the Amarna episode can be outlined briefly.<sup>1</sup> Amenhotep IV, probably a younger son of Amenhotep III, succeeded his father. I

This chapter was first presented at a seminar in the Oriental Faculty in Oxford and subsequently at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and at the University of Michigan; I am grateful for the points raised in discussion at those places. I am much indebted to Marianne Eaton-Krauss and Rolf Krauss for detailed comments on a rough draft and to Betsy Bryan for making her research on the reign (esp. in Kozloff and Bryan 1992) available to me ahead of publication; we have arrived at several conclusions independently. I owe knowledge of some of Dr. Bryan's conclusions that go beyond those presented in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) to a paper she presented in Cambridge (Bryan [1992]), of which she most kindly gave me a copy. A number of suggestions on specific points are due in particular to Marianne Eaton-Krauss.

Much of the material and many of the issues I mention, especially those relating to the reign of Akhenaten itself, have been discussed repeatedly. It is not possible to give more than selected references here. For many topics, other chapters in the present book will be the best sources of information.

1. No full and satisfactory historical outline of the period is available, partly because there is little consensus over its events and their interpretation. Apart from Hornung's brief work (1995), Redford (1984) is probably the most reliable. For valuable criticism and comparison, see Eaton-Krauss (1990). See also Berman in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 33–66. For a



believe, with the majority of Egyptologists, that the succession occurred at Amenhotep III's death and that there was no chronologically or historically significant phase of coregency between them. Within a year or so of his accession, Amenhotep IV started to modify religious beliefs and practices together with the artistic styles in which they were embodied. At Karnak he began a temple in a somewhat unusual but still traditional style for the sun god, whose name and essence were defined in a new formula. By his third year at the latest, the architecture and style were radically transformed and the god's name had crystallized into a complex dogmatic form enclosed in a pair of royal cartouches (fig. 8.1). The god's principal abbreviation and appellation was "Aten" or "the Aten," that is, "the Solar Disk." He was represented not in human form but as a disk with rays emanating from it that bestowed the blessing of life in particular on the royal couple or family beneath. Probably in his fourth year, Amenhotep IV planned a move to a new capital city at a site now known as Amarna, midway between the civil capital of Memphis and the religious capital of Thebes. He named the site Akhetaten, "Horizon of the Solar Disk." In his sixth year, he changed his name to Akhenaten, "Beneficent for the Disk (?)," in honor of his god,<sup>2</sup> establishing his principal residence in the new city between then and year 8.

A revised dogmatic name for the god followed around year 9, and perhaps from that time dates the erasure of the name and representations of the dynastic god of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Amon or Amon-Ra, from the monuments. The word "gods" was also attacked, notably but not exclusively where it occurred in the epithet "king of the gods" attached to the name of Amon.<sup>3</sup>

Akhenaten's reforms affected most areas of Egyptian public and monumental culture, ranging from the houses of the city of Akhetaten to tombs and beliefs about the next life. In the aftermath of his seventeen-year reign, the reforms were dismantled. No later than the time of Horemheb, the last king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, who came to the throne nearly twenty years after Akhenaten's death,<sup>4</sup> there was an active persecution of the name of Akhenaten, his monuments were being torn down, and his essential religious

broader history, devoting considerable space to the late Eighteenth Dynasty, see Vandersleyen (1995).

2. For a summary of these dating issues, see Krauss (1991) 12 (context not relevant here).

3. For these phenomena, see Saad (1972); Hari (1984) 1039–41; Munro (1987), with a valuable summary of the Russian work of Perepelkin on the general chronology of developments; Hornung (1995) 95–97; Manuelian (in press).

4. The earlier date emerges from Marianne Eaton-Krauss's research in progress on the reign of Tutankhamun.

ideas abandoned. This movement of reaction continued in the early Nineteenth Dynasty.

Because Akhenaten's reforms were so pervasive and were rejected so soon and so comprehensively, the abandonment of the desert city of Amarna and reuse of materials from his Karnak temples and other monuments in the fill of later buildings preserved vast amounts of evidence from his reign. The unique cuneiform archive from Amarna, known as the Amarna Letters, supplies vital evidence for relations between Egypt, its possessions in the Levant, and the Near East. Much of what it contains may not be especially distinctive for Akhenaten but rather a sample of typical international diplomatic and administrative exchange of the period.<sup>5</sup>

The Egyptians did not find it as easy to suppress the influence of the episode of Akhenaten and Akhetaten as it was to obliterate Akhenaten's presence on monuments or restore the earlier structures that had been damaged under his orders. Such influence can be seen in survivals throughout the late New Kingdom and probably later. In effect, some aspects of the Amarna reforms became part of the culture of late New Kingdom Egypt, while others survived in the broader stream of tradition and were on occasion revived at much later dates.<sup>6</sup>

### The Historical and Cultural Context: Problems of Method

An assessment of the Amarna episode's significance should be set in the larger historical and cultural context into which Akhenaten was born and against which he reacted. Much has been written about the motivation for the changes of his reign, and there is no sign that the flood of speculation will lessen. People generally assume that the prime mover was the king. For religious matters, in particular, antecedents to many elements have been identified.<sup>7</sup> Similarly, some stylistic and representational developments in mid-Eighteenth Dynasty art offer points of departure for Akhenaten's forms.

Because the record is fragmentary, parallels or antecedents for features of Amarna can be missed. Many Amarna developments were artistic, but whole areas of artistic production of Amenhotep III's reign that could have had a major influence on Amarna, such as metalwork, secular furniture, and the

5. Authoritative translation: Moran (1992). For a summation of research on the social and diplomatic context, see Liverani (1990). Liverani is preparing a new translation that is likely to bring significant changes in interpretation.

6. E.g., Assmann (1971).

7. Esp. Redford (1976), (1980).



decoration of dwellings, are largely unknown. It may not, therefore, be fruitful to establish lists of traits or features that were adopted or developed from much earlier or even immediately preceding times. What is distinctive for this period and stimulates some of people's continuing fascination with it is that rejection of inherited forms, change, and unconventionality provided the norm for the king's ideas, whatever may have been the precise source of the new forms, and however they may have been legitimized. Those ideas went through major transformations during the reign, whether or not these were planned from the beginning.<sup>8</sup> Naturally, certain aspects of the development aspired to create new rigidities. The orientation toward change needs to be interpreted in its historical context. In the background are the cyclically oriented Egyptian view of the cosmos<sup>9</sup> and the issue of whether Akhenaten's changes sought to replace the cycle with a vision of something like linear progress. Although a notion of linear progress may be anachronistic, the continuation of developments through the reign makes the point worth investigating.

To approach these issues, two broad questions should be asked. How far can we see generalized antecedents for the Amarna changes, as well as specific motifs, in the preceding period? And what constitutes a valid approach to interpreting changes of this sort and their antecedents? These are interrelated formulations of the issues in pragmatic and theoretical terms. At the end of this chapter, I return to the problem of method implicit in the second question. Ultimately, I address the same problems as does existing literature, but I study the preceding period rather more than the reign of Akhenaten itself, examining the general social and historical context as well as detailed features.

I focus on the reign of Amenhotep III, but there is no sharp distinction between his time and that of his father and predecessor Thutmose IV. In terms of artistic style, which is the most accessible part of the tradition, the main changes seem to have begun after the reign of Amenhotep II, so that Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III form a largely incremental continuum. Amenhotep III ruled longer than any previous Eighteenth Dynasty monarch—Thutmose III being displaced for nearly twenty years by Hatshepsut—and he inherited a generally peaceful realm. Since his reign encompassed more than one elite career generation, it was long enough to encompass major changes, and it is seldom necessary to look farther back for a context

8. Hornung has argued that the whole process was foreseen (see Hornung [1982] 244–45). There is, however, no clear means of assessing this matter.

9. E.g., Assmann (1975b); Hornung (1982) *passim*.

for Amarna. The mass of surviving evidence is so great that I can only select themes and examples.

The Amarna period poses a classic historical problem. There can be no doubt that what Akhenaten introduced and attempted to institutionalize was extremely radical—surely more radical than any other changes within Egyptian history. It is possible to attempt a study of the stimuli for his actions—their administrative and institutional basis and the support of or opposition to them—as well as reasons for the success or failure of particular aspects. These questions, which relate to the motivations and interplay of the elite group and their beliefs, are too fine-grained to be approached directly through archaeological methods. There is no significant evidence as to whether the people as a whole were involved in or could have influenced the changes, but the changes do not have the appearance of a broadly based phenomenon. Although archaeological work provides the evidence of what Akhenaten did and for his vital capital city, my principal question is not archaeological. Broad social analyses that are undertaken with archaeological and social-scientific methods are only partly applicable, even though the status of the elite and its relation with the wider society are crucial background questions.<sup>10</sup> So I attempt a primarily religious and historical-cultural study.

A discussion of the “dawn” of the Amarna age is teleological. It is unlikely that scholars would examine the reign of Akhenaten's predecessor for hints of radical change if such change were not known to have followed. This obvious point does not help us to establish whether people of the time thought they were living in a period of accelerated change. In an ancient perspective, “accelerated change” could encompass rates much slower than those of the Amarna period or of periods with which the reign of Amenhotep III might be compared. His reign could have experienced accelerated change in relation to the general pace of ancient development. An important question is whether there was, or ideally was perceived to be, such accelerated change.

A contrasting approach is to see Akhenaten's actions as deliberately “revolutionary”—as being aimed at overturning or reversing traditional attitudes or practices. Such change is not “accelerated” but is aimed at a different order of transformation of society or of social institutions. Revolutions cannot affect all of life, but they carry over into their new framework traditional practices that are unmarked and unattended to. They may turn what

10. For a stimulating analysis of the composition of Egyptian society (not specifically for this period) and a valuable discussion of Amarna as a city, see Kemp (1989).



was taken for granted into a serious issue, or they may dismiss serious matters as trivial or meaningless.

Some scholars who have seen Akhenaten's changes as revolutionary have remarked that their style or specific features of them were conventional or traditional,<sup>11</sup> and hence that they might have been very selective. An important argument against this reading is that numerous small changes of the reign have the appearance of innovation for its own sake rather than of alteration motivated for a specific purpose in a particular context. A good example is the use of a new term for "chief vintner" in the latter part of the reign: the old term returned after its end,<sup>12</sup> and the change can have had little deep import. Some apparent "conservatism" is to be expected in any case, because total change is beyond human capacity; the conservative cast may come from matters that were not the subject of attention. Akhenaten seems to have been a prime mover in the changes—and probably their instigator. Since the changes emanated from the center, they might not have detailed implications for all of society, because Akhenaten's concerns might not have extended so far. In political terms, they appear, like changes imposed from the center in other societies, to have intensified the centralization of power.

In this chapter I review evidence from the reign of Amenhotep III that may relate to "accelerated change" and to elements in general culture that might have favored Amarna developments. Those developments encompassed all areas of high culture—other aspects of society can hardly be compared between Amarna and the decades on either side—and a search for antecedents should be wide-ranging. It is best to begin with religion, even if, as has often been suggested, Akhenaten's focus on religion might have been meant to hide political interests or to overcome them by reference to more portentous concerns. To distinguish between religion and politics may be misleading in any case, because the politically powerful king continued to be integral to religion.

### Religious Aspects: Diversity and Solar Beliefs

Akhenaten's religion was proclaimed in his god's dogmatic names and in the hymns addressed to the god—and probably in other, lost categories of text.<sup>13</sup> Another valuable source is a fragmentary speech on a block from one of his

11. E.g., Hornung (1982) 244–45 (his overall interpretation does not see Akhenaten as conventional); see also Hornung (1995).

12. Krauss (1978) 177–79, with references.

13. No "instruction" text is preserved from the reign, but something of the sort seems to have existed; see Assmann (1980).

Karnak buildings that appears to present in argumentative form the contrast between the traditional creator or sun god and Akhenaten's own vision.<sup>14</sup> The persecution of Amon and the traditional gods is itself an important pointer to the evolution of his ideas, probably in the later phases of his reforms. If nothing else, destruction of traditional religious names and iconography is eloquent testimony to intolerance—and possibly to fear of the deities and other supernatural beings who were anathematized.

Traditional Egyptian religion was tolerant in several senses. There was a diversity of gods and beliefs, many of them overlapping; much in them might be seen as being contradictory—if no more so than precepts we may ourselves adopt. This tolerance is in part encapsulated in what Henri Frankfort saw as the fundamental "multiplicity of approaches" characteristic of Egyptian and many other religions.<sup>15</sup> Diversity did not stimulate much polemical literature arguing the merits of one deity or religious conception specifically against another. Possible examples from other periods include the "Admonitions," whose focus is in part on the religious dimensions of social collapse.<sup>16</sup> This literary text illustrates indirectly how religious controversy might appear in Egyptian terms, but it has no clear Eighteenth Dynasty analogue before Amarna.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty, the principal focus of religious discussion inscribed outside the inner parts of temples was solar. Solar hymns were produced in large numbers.<sup>17</sup> Those preserved were carved mainly in tombs but also on stelae and statues. They vary greatly, and many were probably new compositions created for the contexts from which we know them, rather than copies of texts originally disseminated elsewhere (some, however, were standard).<sup>18</sup>

These hymns do not relate to any single religious tendency or concern. Most are addressed to Amon-Ra rather than to the sun god Ra alone and thus may have a specifically Theban orientation—although this need not follow, because Amon-Ra was the widely worshiped "state god" and similar hymns could be used in the cult of different gods.<sup>19</sup> Little is known about the character of related texts from outside the Theban area, but such examples as the major texts in the Memphite tomb of Horemheb<sup>20</sup> from the post-

14. Redford (1981).

15. Frankfort et al. (1949); Frankfort (1948a) 3–4.

16. E.g., Lichtheim (1973); Assmann (1991) 260–65.

17. Assmann (1983a) = idem (1995); idem (1983b).

18. See Assmann (1983b) xviii–xxxiv.

19. E.g., Assmann (1975a) 322–46; the examples translated there are later than Amenhotep III.

20. Martin (1989a) 29–31, no. 7; 33–35, no. 11; 92–93, no. 73.



Amarna period are close to Theban hymns, so that there may not have been much variation across the country. The Theban nonroyal hymns seem to occupy a middle ground among the following types occurring in other material: (1) traditional and probably archaic hymns of "hourly ritual" for the sun god;<sup>21</sup> (2) less archaic liturgical hymns, reflected in compositions preserved in chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead, which have the most in common with the hymns in tombs;<sup>22</sup> (3) hymns of the "new solar religion,"<sup>23</sup> a simplified form of solar worship not so far attested before the reign of Amenhotep III; and (4) hymns incorporating the idea of a "supreme being," associated primarily with the Ramesside period, but appearing by the reign of Amenhotep III.<sup>24</sup>

This material seemingly attests to intense discussion of religious issues, including advocacy of positions that could be mutually exclusive. Such a reading should not, however, be pressed too far, and the material's general character must be borne in mind. Modern studies of comparable issues with cognitive implications often focus on contradiction and give insufficient weight to the fact that the sources are poetic and celebratory imaginative works, not rigorous discourse. As noted, discussions that deliberately exposed underlying conflicts are hardly attested. We do not know whether they were written down, but it is unlikely that they did not take place. A discussion might not, however, lead to a sharp rejection of one view in favor of another unless notions of contradiction and resolution were prominent. Such notions seem to have been present in some sense under Akhenaten, but it is not clear whether that was the case earlier.

Hymns inscribed in relatively accessible places, such as nonroyal tombs and stelae in the outer parts of temples, partake of all the religious tendencies enumerated earlier except that of the hourly ritual, which was inscribed in inner areas of temples and was probably used in a restricted cult that may have been known in detail only to direct participants.<sup>25</sup> Major "literary" hymns of the same general date—compositions that constitute belles lettres rather than cult materials—are known from papyrus copies and can be

21. Not all are preserved. See Assmann (1969) 113–64; Graefe (1995).

22. Assmann (1969) 15–112.

23. Assmann terms this "new solar theology"; see Assmann (1983a), esp. 97–98 = idem (1995) 67–68 (see also idem [1995] xi). I prefer the more neutral term *religion*; see Baines (1984) 48.

24. Zandee (1987) 127, referring to Assmann (1983b) no. 180; Epigraphic Survey (1980) 30–32, pl. 7.

25. Papyrus copies must have secured its transmission. See Assmann (1983a) 22–39 = idem (1995) 16–30; for broader implications, see Baines (1990).

linked with types 3 and 4. These are the Cairo hymn to Amon,<sup>26</sup> which relates indirectly to the new solar religion, and the Leiden hymn to Amon, connected with the notion of the supreme being.<sup>27</sup> The Cairo hymn is attested from before the Amarna period, as is part of another Leiden hymn (see n. 24). It is unlikely that papyrus finds, in particular, are representative of the period's range of texts, and otherwise unattested literary hymns may be represented in excerpt but unidentifiable among texts inscribed on stone.<sup>28</sup>

This point is relevant especially for the Cairo hymn. This text is "universalistic," showing the god's concern for all aspects of creation, including ones normally outside the Egyptians' moral universe, such as lower orders of being and people outside Egypt. This hymn has mostly been dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty, but part of it is preserved on a Second Intermediate Period stela. The text must therefore either be earlier or fuse different compositions, some of them pre-New Kingdom.

There is a generalized kinship between the Cairo hymn and the new solar religion, but in moral orientation rather than in the vision of the god himself; the latter tendency remains separate and distinctive. The new solar religion is generally thought to have originated in the reign of Amenhotep III and to have led straight to Amarna ideas. While this may be so, the Cairo and Leiden hymns show that other tendencies best attested from the later New Kingdom existed in earlier "literary" discourse and are reflected in hymns on stone. Thus, a dating of the emergence of the new solar religion to Amenhotep III is based almost solely on lack of attestation. Like the other tendencies, this one may have been expressed more fully in literary texts on which the preserved hymns may have drawn. The Amarna texts,<sup>29</sup> among which the "Great Hymn to the Aten" is far longer than most unitary solar hymns, may have taken inspiration in part from such a forerunner as well as from very recent texts (such as that on the stela of Suty and Hor, discussed later in this section).

This range of solar compositions suggests that in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty there was diverse and active religious discussion in an elite forum. Tombs were the freest available context for inscribing such material and demonstrate the importance of the religious issues, but it would be unwise to

26. P Boulaq 17, Cairo CG 58038; Grébaut (1874/1875); Hassan (1930) 157–93; Assmann (1975a) no. 87. There is no recent treatment.

27. For the hymn, see Zandee (1948); Assmann (1975a) nos. 132–42. For the supreme being, see Assmann (1979); idem (1983a) 189–286 = idem (1995) 156–210.

28. See further Baines 1996.

29. E.g., Lichtheim (1976) 89–100; for another selection, see Assmann (1975a) 209–25.



overstress the hymns' significance either for tombs or for society. Hymns occupy a small, if prominent, position, and they have a limited role in relation to a tomb's primary purpose. The inscribed hymns do not show that the discussion influencing them was popular except among the very small elite; others had little access to the tombs, and the nonliterate had still less access to writings in them, even if material could be read out to them—if the purpose of inscription was reading out, which it may often not have been. We have simply no means of studying solar beliefs in the broader population. Despite these reservations, the New Kingdom is the only period when there was such intense preoccupation with a religious topic in the discursive form of texts inscribed in public places.

This elite discussion, which culminated in the reign of Amenhotep III and reached its crisis under Akhenaten,<sup>30</sup> may have intensified pressure on solar religion's tolerance of diverging views, perhaps to the breaking point. Although the whole development should be seen in a wider context in which solar beliefs were one—albeit dominant—strand among many, the fact that the hymns of the new solar religion effectively ignored the rest of the world of the gods remains vital.

Was this situation one of "pluralism" rather than tolerance? In a plural context, alternative and competing beliefs coexist ideally without violent conflict. But if the beliefs focus on the same sets of concerns, the potential for conflict is evident, and pluralism will then be maintained only with difficulty. It may be easier for Christians and Buddhists to agree to respect each other's positions than it is for different Christian sects to do so. Such a parallel, however, highlights differences between what are generally perceived as the Egyptian and Christian contexts: Egyptian religion scarcely had dogmas, whereas Christianity uses the definitions or dogmas of a creed. In their divergences, Christian sects often focus ostensibly—whatever may be the underlying issues—on distinctions in dogma, whether of creed or of other constituent elements. Rigorous and disputable definitions sharpen conflict.

How far did the religious tendencies around the reign of Amenhotep III compete in the same area and tend toward definitions or dogmas? With hindsight, such a goal is visible in the religion of Akhenaten, which centered around a few essential definitions, notably the names of the god, which scholars have always termed "dogmatic." Also approaching dogma is the high degree of fixity in epithets describing Akhenaten himself, as well as the concentration of texts and images around a limited repertory. That does not,

30. Compare the subtitle of Assmann (1983a), rendered in English for Assmann (1995) as "Re, Amun, and the Crisis of Polytheism." That work focuses on the Ramessid period more than on the time of Akhenaten.

however, settle the issue, because Akhenaten's dogmatism could have descended fairly directly from preceding developments or could have arisen in reaction against them.

Two additional factors should be considered. First—but logically second—the dogmatic names of Akhenaten's god and the whole thrust of the new belief affected the kingship and the king's relations with his god as strongly as they did conceptions of the god himself: Amarna religion was a religion of god and king, or even of king first and then god.

Second, a dominant characteristic of the new solar religion is its eschewing of the mythical, or, in Jan Assmann's terminology, of the "constellations" of figures surrounding the sun god in his perpetual and daily cycle.<sup>31</sup> Traditional solar beliefs encompassed the sun god's entourage and the context of the solar cycle as well as the deity, who appeared in multiple manifestations relating to the time of day or night and to other factors. By contrast, the new movement ignored the entourage, concentrating on him and on the demythologized world of creation. The only significant element retained was the uraeus, the cobra pendant from the solar disk that symbolized the solar eye; uraei occur both on the disk of the Aten itself and on the crowns of the king and queen. The movement's universalism is seen in its focus on the everyday world of creation, while its descriptions of nature and of the creator's care for all life derive from the tradition of such texts as the Cairo hymn to Amon and from other sources going back as far as the mid-third millennium.<sup>32</sup> The eschewing of myth, however, created a new context for the creator's care and for his sole responsibility. There was no longer the basic organization of beliefs in which creation and its maintenance were a collaboration of gods, humanity, and others in face of the forces of disorder.

Traditional solar religion, and even of that of Akhenaten, may appear paradoxical to the outsider, because the sun god was acted on as much as acting. Although he had created the world, he had withdrawn from it into the sky, rather like the aloof creator gods of some other religions. He was surrounded by beings who propelled him, repulsed his enemies, and in other ways supported his existence, while the king, as the protagonist of humanity, assisted the whole process. Akhenaten's god was even less evidently active. He sustained and cared for all of creation, but no specific action was credited to him, and no myth of creation is attested from the Amarna period. Jan Assmann has adopted from astrophysics the notion of "continuous cre-

31. On traditional solar religion versus the "new solar religion," see Assmann (1969) on traditional religion; idem (1972a) and (1983a) = idem (1995) *passim* on "new solar religion." The term *constellation* was introduced in those works.

32. References: Baines (1991) 186–88.



ation" (now discredited among astrophysicists) to describe the god's role, which he sees essentially as the dispensing of life-giving light.<sup>33</sup> The king was the person who knew this and worshiped the light—which, with the solar disk, was all of the god that was visually represented—but without the royal-divine reciprocity in the face of chaos that characterized the earlier system. The rest of creation spontaneously recognized and acknowledged the god but played no other direct part in sustaining the world.

The implications of these points can be explored initially through monuments of the reign of Amenhotep III. The principal surviving text of the new solar religion is on the stela of the twin brothers Suty and Hor (in the British Museum; fig. 8.2),<sup>34</sup> who were the architects of the Luxor temple and were thus people of high elite status. Their monument is traditional in form and iconography; it includes funerary formulas as well as a hymn to the sun god. The hymn is of a novel character and is striking especially in that it does not mention the beings who accompanied the god in traditional compositions. The imagery with which it treats the god himself nonetheless remains rich in implied manifestations and iconography, an example being the god's form as a falcon. Thus, despite its evidently radical character, it moves only part of the way to the focus of Akhenaten's hymns.

The distribution of subject matter on Suty and Hor's stela suggests that the contrast between traditional and new modes of worshiping and understanding the sun god was not very sharp and that different tendencies—notably the inclusion of other deities in the offering formulas and their near absence in the hymn—were not seen as mutually exclusive. This perception, which may seem improbable to the outsider, could relate to a general tolerance of contradiction or to a more explicit pluralism, that is, to the acceptance of different, closely focused approaches to the same subject. The monument is eloquent evidence both for plural religious conceptions and for the significance and diversity of discussion around solar religion. Its juxtaposition of ideas is more suggestive of pluralism than of tolerance, but such a notion is clearly alien to Western thinking where it relates to the beliefs of a single person (which the twins were for this purpose; see n. 34).

The different styles of text on this monument probably draw on alterna-

tive groups of sources. Whether the novel hymn was copied from a source or composed in a style, it is unlikely to have been the earliest composition of its type; its perfection argues against extreme novelty. The date of the stela—generally placed near the end of the reign of Amenhotep III, but without specific evidence—is thus probably not that of the new solar religion's origin, which cannot easily be established; purely linguistic criteria do not help. Much changed during the reign of Amenhotep III, and the religious movement could have appeared then, but it could be older. If it was older, the inscription of a hymn incorporating its ideas was still a radical innovation, not so much because of the circumscribed nature of what could traditionally be displayed as because the hymn's content was discordant with other texts in an area of vital concern and, more generally, because decisions to present topics on monuments were not lightly taken. Many hymns survive from earlier in the dynasty, and if there had been earlier examples on comparable monuments, some evidence for them might well survive. If the Suty and Hor text brings something latent into view, this need not imply that the new solar religion was a secret countercurrent, although this is possible; it could just have been an alternative espoused by few.

The pluralism seen on this stela may have opened the way to new possibilities, but Akhenaten's developments were anything but plural. His drastic restriction of possibilities has many parallels among major changes in beliefs and in social and political organization in other societies. Because of the marked division between Akhenaten and the time of his predecessor, it is not fruitful to look for detailed antecedents for all his innovations. The connection between the conceptions of Suty and Hor's hymn and those of Akhenaten's "Great Hymn to the Aten" is, however, close enough for the appearance of the Suty and Hor hymn in a public context during the preceding years to be significant both for its content and for its demonstration of possibilities; yet their hymn also illustrates the chasm separating Akhenaten from his predecessors.

The reduced and restricted focus of Amarna religion and reform is central to its character, while it contrasts with the reign's generally high level of innovation. In the broader religious sphere, Akhenaten's changes tended in the opposite direction to those of Amenhotep III. Apart from variety within solar religion, the latter's reign saw,<sup>35</sup> for example, major development in animal worship at the Sarapieion in Memphis, where his probable eldest son

33. Assmann (1983a) 113–23 = idem (1995) 80–87.

34. Fecht (1967), with references; Assmann (1975a) no. 89. For their status as twins, see Baines (1985a). For a brief history of relevant discussions, see Delange in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 26–27. Assmann has argued that this hymn depends on an archetype preserved indirectly in Twenty-sixth Dynasty Theban tombs (see Assmann [1971]; idem [1983b] xxxv). The age of such an archetype is very difficult to gauge.

35. See in general Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 73–120, with references.



Thutmose was high priest of Ptah,<sup>36</sup> as well as construction in the temple complex of Ptah;<sup>37</sup> building works including colossal quartzite statues of baboons at Hermopolis,<sup>38</sup> among other major work there,<sup>39</sup> and a temple to Horus of Hebenu to the north of Hermopolis;<sup>40</sup> construction of a temple to Sobek near Rizeiqat south of Thebes,<sup>41</sup> one to Khnum at Elephantine,<sup>42</sup> and the major temples of Soleb and Sedeinga in Upper Nubia;<sup>43</sup> and no doubt many projects now unknown. In Thebes, as discussed by David O'Connor in chapter 5 in this book, he built in the area of the complex of Mont<sup>44</sup> and possibly that of Mut<sup>45</sup> at Karnak, in addition to his work in the central complex of Amon-Ra, construction of the Luxor temple, and his vast mortuary temple and other constructions on the West Bank.<sup>46</sup> He appears to have imported some Memphite cults to complement the traditional ones of Thebes, as if Thebes was to become a microcosm of all the country's cults in its function of cosmic representation—as it was for the solar cult by the common designation of Thebes as "Upper Egyptian Heliopolis."<sup>47</sup> Despite the preeminence of the sun god, the general religious orientation of Amenhotep III's reign was in no way toward uniformity or focus on a single deity.

Interchanges between god and king were presented in various forms. The most striking instance is in three stelae from Amenhotep III's mortuary temple. These mainly narrate the king's constructions in the Theban area. One

36. For Thutmose, see Porter and Moss (1981) 780–81, 851; Dodson (1991); Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 75.

37. Not archaeologically attested, but see the text of the high steward of Memphis cited by Berman in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 54, and see Morkot (1990).

38. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 75, with n. 6 and references.

39. Spencer et al. (1989) 63–64.

40. Discussed by Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992), esp. 118–20.

41. See Romano (1979) 82–84; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 75, with nn. 7–8.

42. Destroyed in the nineteenth century: see Porter and Moss (1937) 227–29; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 75, with n. 9.

43. Ibid. 106–10, with references.

44. Porter and Moss (1974) 1–20, passim; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 99–102. The temple is named Khaemmaat—identical with the king's Horus name—in a dedicatory inscription running around the wall bases. It is not clear whether Amenhotep III built structures dedicated to Mont or only to Amon and Maat.

45. There is no direct evidence for his having built there (see Fazzini [1985] 294–95), but the creation in his reign of the Tenth Pylon of the main precinct, angled toward the Mut complex, is suggestive: see Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 94–95, figs. IV.17–18. It is generally thought that the hundreds of granite statues of Sakhmet from his reign that were found in the Mut temple were transported there at a later date from his mortuary temple; for brief treatment, see Haeny (1981) 90–99.

46. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 82–104. For his work at Thebes, see esp. O'Connor's discussion in chap. 5 in the present book. See also Murnane (1993).

47. Van Dijk (1988); see also Traunecker (1988). For "Upper Egyptian Heliopolis," see, e.g., Kees (1949). See further Kozloff and Bryan (1992).

concentrates almost exclusively on the mortuary temple itself;<sup>48</sup> a second, very fragmentary stela presents the king's construction of monuments in relation to the Memphite god Ptah-Sokar-Osiris;<sup>49</sup> and the third describes a wide range of buildings and implies much about the modeling of the city into a sacred cosmos.<sup>50</sup> The first stela is a new composition written in a difficult and *recherché* style, and the second too uses very unusual and probably novel phraseology. The third is much more conventional and is repetitive in structure and formulation, probably adopting standard phraseology, but including a description of the hitherto unknown temple type of a *mzrw*; another *mzrw* was built at Amarna, but the word is not attested again until texts from Greco-Roman times.<sup>51</sup> This stela's presentation of the city as an environment is important also for the texts and representations of Akhenaten, many of which address similar subjects. The idea of praise of the city, which is probably related to cosmic notions, is known from earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty<sup>52</sup> and lived on after the Amarna period, notably in the Leiden hymn to Amon (see n. 27). The presence of stelae relating to the gods of both Thebes and Memphis may incorporate cosmic associations of both the country's capital cities within the environment of the king's mortuary temple. This last feature of temples has not been explored for Akhenaten's temples at Amarna, and it is perhaps unlikely that they had all the cosmological meanings of traditional structures, whereas the city of Amarna clearly embodied such notions.

The texts of the three stelae conclude with speeches from the god to the king. Here, the first stela is the most interesting, including both an address of Amon-Ra and a speech of the ennead; together these two speeches form about half the stela's extent. Although many earlier speeches of deity to king are preserved,<sup>53</sup> this degree of reciprocity is unusual, and the presence of an extensive address by the ennead actualizes the significance of much in temple

48. The "Stela behind the Memnon Colossi." Text: Helck (1957a) 1671–77. Translation: Helck (1961) 206–8.

49. This stela also celebrates the king's relationship with Ptah. Text: Helck (1959) 1955–58. Translation: Helck (1961) 333–34. Reworking: Helck (1993).

50. The stela is Cairo CG 34025. Text: Lacau (1909) 47–52; Helck (1957a) 1646–57. Translations: Helck (1961) 194–99; Lichtheim (1976) 43–48. This stela is used extensively by Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 82–104. For the concluding speech of Amon-Ra, with parallels, see Grimal (1986) 449–66. The reverse of the stela is the Israel inscription of Merneptah.

51. Erman and Grapow (1928) 30, 6–8.

52. See Guksch (1994).

53. Grimal (1986) 445–72. The Poetical Stela of Thutmose III (e.g., Lichtheim [1976] 35–39) is a prime example and a forerunner of these texts. On the important category of divine speeches, see Assmann (1975b).



relief and emphasizes the plurality of the gods. The presence of three stelae is significant, because strongly divergent texts dealing with essentially similar subject matter were set up close to one another. This way of proceeding is pluralistic, and since two texts were new compositions, the pluralism was deliberate and not just the product of converging traditions—but it did not tend to focus on a single deity. The heightened dialogue between king and gods is in complete contrast to Akhenaten's relations with his god. Akhenaten addressed his god and presented his exclusive knowledge of him to others, but the god did not respond in words. Neither the traditional short utterances captioning figures of deities nor more extensive speeches by the god are known. Unlike traditional gods, the new deity was not represented figuratively in human or other, animal form, at least on developed monuments in the new style; and in the later form of the dogmatic name he was as nonfigural an entity as deities in almost any tradition.<sup>54</sup> The rich, if often stereotyped, iconography of traditional religion was replaced by a single image, while the god interacted with royalty by offering the signs of life and power from the ends of his rays. This exclusivism built on features of traditional decorum, such as the presence of the winged disk above figures of the king but not above figures of nonroyal individuals.<sup>55</sup> Its restriction of permitted forms focused them far more closely on the king.

This aspect of religious development relates to another major feature of traditional religion. Central elements of the solar cult were secret, and the king and a few others seem to have been initiated into the true meaning of the solar cycle, which was not otherwise disseminated. This secrecy appears to have been maintained under Amenhotep III and is epitomized in a pair of treatises on the king's role in the solar cult inscribed by the windows in the innermost main hall of the Luxor temple.<sup>56</sup> Although this siting could be seen as negating the point of the cult's secrecy, this is not the case, because the hall was virtually inaccessible, and because the crucial daytime text alludes to but does not divulge the knowledge it mentions. Dialogue of the king with the gods and the diversity of religious phenomena contrast with the idea of secrecy, especially since the dialogues were inscribed on stelae placed in the outside areas of temples. This possible tension between secrecy and public

54. Hornung has drawn an analogy between the dogma of Akhenaten in relation to his god and Muhammad's relation to God in the aniconic religion of Islam (see Hornung [1982] 248). The point is perhaps deliberately overstressed but is nevertheless illuminating.

55. This rule, for which I know of no published discussion, was not rigid; it allowed, e.g., the presence of emblematic royal-divine compositions above nonroyal texts. It seems to have disappeared after the Amarna period.

56. Assmann (1970); idem (1995) 17–26; Betrò (1990). For general discussion, see Baines (1990) 10–15.

forms is also visible in the stela of Suty and Hor, which was evidently set up in a temple—for official religion a more important location than the tombs, where most solar hymns were inscribed. As the royal stelae carried the king's dialogue with the gods into the open, so Suty and Hor took discussion of the creator god's nature visibly into his cult place.

These tensions were followed by a single resolution under Akhenaten, who propounded his god in an ostensibly public fashion—although his ideas may not have been disseminated very widely—while claiming for himself alone full knowledge of who and what the god was. This claim is a remarkable arrogation to the king of a religious domain that had been rather more open, and it restricted radically the evolution of religious knowledge, which had been focused on a small group but not dogmatically controlled. While the “Great Hymn to the Aten,”<sup>57</sup> which must have been close to the core of Akhenaten's religion, develops and purifies the presentation of the creator god's nature found in the hymn of Suty and Hor, it does not depart completely from it, the principal difference being in its radically simplified imagery surrounding the god himself, who no longer had multiple manifestations. Since Suty and Hor's text was “public,” Akhenaten's knowledge could also have been, and there is no clear sign of his having kept it secret. In contrast, the treatises on the king's cult role hint at his having still more arcane knowledge that has no parallel in Amarna solar beliefs or in the new solar religion, but they do not confine the knowledge only to him, instead stating simply that he knows it. Some people would have been privy to the knowledge, notably those who provided the guarantee of its continuity and imparted it to him, for he could not have relied only on his predecessor as king. Thus, the new solar religion appears to have been part of a discussion in the time of Amenhotep III, however small the relevant group may have been, and Akhenaten adopted this theoretically open stance.

Nonetheless, the “Great Hymn” states that no one knows his god except for his son Akhenaten. The king's praenomen is regularly accompanied by the epithet *w'-n-r'u*, “the Unique One of Ra,” by means of which epithets of other members of the royal family referred to Akhenaten. Thus Akhenaten's self-designation and imposition of its terminology on others appears to have restricted the idea of religious knowledge and its transmission, making it into a kind of revelation, even though he disseminated the message of that revelation relatively widely. It is hard to see how the king's own insights can have enlarged greatly on what is said in hymns from his reign and in the god's titles and epithets. The statement that the king alone knows the god therefore

57. Translations and references: Assmann (1975a) no. 92; Lichtheim (1976) 96–100.



appears to be an expression more of his relationship with the god than of something arcane. Such a claim has no real parallel from earlier times except among magical and mortuary texts.

Akhenaten appears, then, to have built on existing ideas of the god but to have transformed their content by subtraction—as he would have seen it, elimination of the wrong and inessential—and to have related them in a new way to the complex of royal knowledge and of the king's relations with the god. The subtraction is the feature most closely related to dogma. Here, the analogy between kingship and the new god is most potent, because the royal titulary, on which the god's cartouches were modeled, was as close as traditional religion (in the broadest sense) came to a dogma. That "dogma," however, related to the king and to multiple manifestations of deities on earth, as well as being different for each successive king. The transformation involved in creating a completely fixed quasi-royal definition of a god out of royal rather than divine forms was enormous and was no more than marginally prepared for by the application of royal epithets and the occasional cartouche to gods from the Middle Kingdom on.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, the fully evolved Amarna religion attested from year 9 of Akhenaten and later was far removed indeed from the forms current only a decade earlier, whereas those forms had developed over vastly longer periods.

Akhenaten's restriction to himself of his core religious insights and emphasis on the centrality of the ruler have evident political corollaries. In the formation of Egyptian civilization during the late fourth millennium, the newly enriched and separate elite arrogated to itself religious as well as political powers that had earlier been more broadly spread in society, while making the king the dominant figure both in politics and in general ideology and religion.<sup>59</sup> This parallel between Akhenaten and much earlier times may suggest why scholars have often claimed to identify archaizing features in his reforms, something that seems unlikely in the face of the large amount of innovation in his reign. It may be best to see this centralizing tendency instead as one possible—and in general history rather common—way in which a reformer seeks to assert the power and ideological dominance that he requires in order to impose his ideas.

### Kingship, Its Ideology and Expression

The god's essential counterpart was the king. The god was a king, and the king aspired to be a god—the new god's divine partner. This analogy be-

tween god and king had existed for centuries,<sup>60</sup> but in the Amarna period it was taken to altogether greater lengths than before. The central terrestrial social institution of Egypt became a more explicit model than hitherto for Akhenaten's sole deity.

The presentation of the god's kingly nature was specific to the new artistic style together with its complex of related changes, including the cartouches for the god's name. This presentation need not therefore have been so closely connected with more generalized developments in religion and in the conception of the king as were other aspects of the reforms. Texts with a version of the god's dogmatic name but without its characteristic iconography make this point plain. A number of these date to the beginning of the reign, showing that the god's name or nature was formulated before the artistic changes began. Most cases are on fragments from the first constructions of Amenhotep IV, the later Akhenaten, at Karnak,<sup>61</sup> and one is on a private stela that is not in the new style.<sup>62</sup> It is conceivable that the core of the dogmatic name was created before Akhenaten's reign.

For the position of Akhenaten himself, the reforms raised an issue that is evident to the observer, in that a single kingly god was promoted and also related to the king with his unique status on earth. The king sacrificed none of his status and little, if anything, of his divinity. But he did not have such a pivotal position as he had had in the traditional order, where he was the protagonist of humanity before the gods and of the gods before the rest of creation, so that he was single while the two principal other groups in creation, the gods and people, were plural. Akhenaten may have mobilized his status in this new context in similar ways to his father's projection of his status and creation of a cosmic spatial stage. But whereas Akhenaten's principal theater of kingship, Amarna, is quite well preserved, there is comparable evidence for Amenhotep III from the religious capital of Thebes but relatively little from the civil capital of Memphis. The Theban evidence is more fragmentary than that from Amarna.<sup>63</sup>

Throughout this period kingship remained central to continuing discourse about the nature of the social world, relations of power among humanity—perhaps rather less with other states abroad<sup>64</sup>—and with the cosmos and the divine world. The period before Amarna appears to have been especially

60. See Hornung (1982) 135–42; in general see O'Connor and Silverman (1995).

61. See, e.g., Redford (1976) 54, with n. 122.

62. Munro (1981). For the dating of this object, see Munro (1987) 143.

63. On these questions, see further O'Connor's discussion in chap. 5 in the present book.

64. For comprehensive treatment of this aspect from a Near Eastern perspective, see Liverani (1990).

58. See Hornung (1982) 231–37.

59. Baines (1995).



productive in this respect and to have offered at least a foil for Amarna itself. There was a discernible change in emphasis in the way the king was presented between Thutmose III and Amenhotep III about forty years later.

Developments under Amenhotep III have been seen in several aspects of kingship. The changes did not concentrate near its end and so cannot simply have created a rising trajectory toward Amarna. They encompassed solar associations of the king, the king's divinity and presentation in iconography, the king and his family, the transformation of the royal city and its temples as a "stage" for kingship, and the uses and legitimations of royal ceremonial. I survey them here in this order, which corresponds very roughly to their temporal distribution among the evidence.

For more than a millennium the king had been closely connected with the sun god and had been conceived as a manifestation of him or as his son. The Eighteenth Dynasty saw a great proliferation of these ideas, notably in iconography, while notions of divine "manifestation," focusing especially around the word *hprw*, were elaborated in numerous royal epithets and eulogies. The king's first cartouche name, or praenomen, was the prime example of this. With the exceptions of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III, from Thutmose I all kings of the dynasty had praenomens including the root *hpr*. Scholars once translated these names as statements about the sun god, but they have more recently been interpreted as concerning the king.<sup>65</sup> On this preferable view, names terminating in *-hprw-r'w* state that the king relates to the manifestations of Ra in a certain way: he is "the great one of the manifestations of Ra" (*3-hprw-r'w*; Amenhotep II) or the "perfect one" (*nfr-hprw-r'w*; Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten). Amenhotep III was the "possessor of maat of Ra" (*nb-m3't-r'w*), a designation possibly implying a greater divine status than the *hprw* forms, because maat, "order," was the prerogative of the sun god. Although the case of Akhenaten shows that great claims to royal divinity could be made by a king who retained a *hprw*-based statement in his cartouche name, the design of Amenhotep III's titulary from the beginning of his reign may signify a desire to raise the king's status.

In addition to these terms and identifications, which connected the king principally with the sun god, the king had long been associated metaphorically with other divine roles, as in instruction texts, which present him as a "destiny" or "inundation" for his subjects.<sup>66</sup> Related features may have been

65. Krauss (1978) 122–32. This reading is supported by writings of the royal praenomen with royal figures as hieroglyphs: see Krauss (1990) 206–10.

66. *Instruction of Amenemhat I*: see, e.g., Lichtheim (1973) 135–39. *Instruction of a Man for His Son*: see Fecht (1978) and the new edition in preparation by Fischer-Elfert; see further Baines (1994a).

realized in the iconography of Amenhotep III,<sup>67</sup> and Amarna texts maintained such identifications to some extent, in apparent contradiction of Akhenaten's demythologizing tendencies. Here, he seems to have evoked traditional attributes of the king in relation to his subjects; this is one of a small number of ways in which he proclaimed his care for humanity, as against his knowledge of, and intimacy with, his god. Whereas the king's mediating position in traditional religion between the gods and humanity gave him a clearly central role, this was less true for Akhenaten, and there is an apparent paradox between the god's broad concern for all of creation and the general indifference to such concern in the role of the king, even though he was the only person who fully comprehended the god's nature. Such paradoxes inhere in the ruler's position in many more or less monotheistic religious systems.

Among developments of Amenhotep III that foreshadow Amarna, a set of "commemorative scarabs" issued during Amenhotep III's first eleven years gives him a new epithet that took him closer to the sun god and became characteristic of him as a ruler. The text of the "lake scarab" describes a ritual apparently performed in relation to the opening of an irrigation basin.<sup>68</sup> At the climax, the narrative states that *jtn-thn*, "the Dazzling Sun Disk," was in the celebratory bark on the irrigation basin. This new epithet<sup>69</sup> both equated the king closely with the sun god and raised the term *Aten* to a prominent position. The king's sailing in the bark was a clear analogy with the sun god's progression across the sky and underworld, further reinforcing the king's status. Gerhard Fecht<sup>70</sup> has pointed out an important association of the word *Aten*, pronounced *yāti* (or with an indistinct final vowel), with Egyptian *jtj*, "father," perhaps pronounced *yāta*. Thus Amenhotep III aspired indirectly to "fatherhood," perhaps of his country as quasi creator. This connection was probably exploited in both principal versions of the dogmatic names of Akhenaten's god, while many texts of his reign invoke the god's status as the king's "father."

The texts always present Akhenaten himself as his god's "son," and he was even represented in statuary as a child;<sup>71</sup> as king he does not seem to

67. Bryan (1992) discusses these questions; see further Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 125–214, *passim*; for proposals that are more limited, see Baines (1985b) 320–21, with references to texts and other discussions; see further Assmann (1980) 2–19.

68. Blankenberg-van Delden (1969) cat. E; Yoyotte (1959); Berman in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 67–72.

69. Used by Kozloff and Bryan (1992) as the title of their exhibition: *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*.

70. Fecht (1960), esp. 114.

71. Eaton-Krauss (1983). See also the comparable relief representation of Akhenaten and Nefertiti on a faience knob: Harris (1977).



have adopted Amenhotep III's claim to divine fatherly status. But Amenhotep III himself had a privileged status at Amarna. He was represented in reliefs throughout his son's reign—as was his queen, Tiye, who survived him by many years—and he was evoked in a positive light in crucial texts, such as the early version of the boundary stelae.<sup>72</sup> As a kingly and fatherly god associated with Akhenaten's father, the Aten in a sense embodied the idea of descent in kingship and formed its point of departure.<sup>73</sup> Here, Akhenaten seems to have transformed a recent motif, perhaps partly in legitimizing homage to his father. These ideas could have extended further: as Akhenaten's father, the "Dazzling Sun Disk" Amenhotep III, was the earthly parallel for his symbolic "father," the Aten/Sun Disk. In continuing the cult of Amenhotep III (under the ideologically neutral double praenomen *Nebmaatra Nebmaatra*), Akhenaten demonstrated on earth that he was true to principles of descent, while nonetheless transforming and rejecting most of what Amenhotep had stood for. Since Amenhotep III's mortuary temple was probably becoming ruined because of its unfavorable siting on the floodplain, it is possible that some of his mortuary cult was transferred to Amarna.<sup>74</sup>

The temples of Luxor and Deir el-Bahri in Thebes provide indirect evidence for the significance of the symbolic descent of the king from the sun god. At Deir el-Bahri, the relief cycle showing Amon-Ra begetting the king—here Hatshepsut—was the only part of the relief decoration to be erased almost completely under Akhenaten.<sup>75</sup> The parallel cycle of Amenhotep III at Luxor was not so severely damaged, but it too was attacked, as was much of the decoration of the whole temple. Next to Amenhotep III's mortuary temple, this was the largest recent temple in the Theban area, and its function seems to have focused on the king's relationship with Amon-Ra and on the Opet Festival, at which it was celebrated.<sup>76</sup> The closeness of king and Amon-

72. Helck (1959) 1975 = idem (1961) 342; Murnane and Van Siclen (1993) 26, 41.

73. See n. 70; Redford notes these points (see Redford [1984] 234) but does not pursue their implications.

74. Bryan (1992). In Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 90–93, Bryan proposes that the temple was intended to be partially flooded by the annual inundation, and that this occurrence was vital to its iconography and meaning. Whether this was so or not, the failure of the Birket Habu lake to its south and the withdrawal of resources for maintenance in favor of Amarna are likely to have led to its rapid decay. This might have been one reason for transferring the funerary cult of Amenhotep III to the new capital, as is suggested, e.g., by statues of him, and probably of queen Tiye, in temples (e.g., Davies [1903–8] 3: pl. X) and by a small stela from Amarna showing him and Tiye before a table of offerings (Aldred [1973] 10, fig. 3). Another reason would no doubt have been the close and ineradicable association of the mortuary temple with Amon.

75. Brunner (1964) 3–5.

76. Bell (1985a).

Ra evident at Deir el-Bahri and Luxor may have been especially abhorrent to Akhenaten because he rejected Amon-Ra and perhaps conceived relations between divine fathers and sons on a different model. The clear if discreet depiction of sexual intercourse between the god and the king's mother in the birth cycles<sup>77</sup> could have had no parallel in the nonhuman iconography of the Aten.

Instead of this vision of a corporeal descent from god to king, Akhenaten offered one of the royal family, all of them dwelling on earth and in that sense "human" rather than divine (fig. 8.3).<sup>78</sup> That family included himself, his queen, Nefertiti, and a variable number of their daughters; another wife, Kiya, was occasionally shown in similar contexts. The group of king, queen, and daughters was presented as a family communicating within itself under the sun disk's protection. The function of these reliefs remains controversial, but they are probably the nearest Akhenaten's iconography approached to something that could be worshiped by the nonroyal. This is a significant reversal of the practice of Amenhotep III, or at the least a very radical development away from it. While the latter celebrated his relations with the gods in the secluded interior of temples, the lives of Akhenaten and his family were prominent in the new capital city. Amenhotep's transformation of Thebes into a ceremonial arena was in some ways less significant for the public role of kingship, perhaps implying more the city's nature as cosmos: Akhenaten publicly displayed his exclusive relations with the divine. It is striking that one of the clearest prefigurings of these developments is in the lake scarab of Amenhotep III, which uses the *jtn tñn* epithet and thus points toward Amarna developments in ways already discussed.

The new royal icon had few antecedents, but developments under Amenhotep III prefigure it in certain ways. Amenhotep's queen, Tiye, was more prominent in iconography than any predecessor. Her role is strikingly displayed in a colossal family statue group, now in the Cairo Museum, showing Amenhotep III and Tiye at equal scale, with three daughters at a smaller scale around the base.<sup>79</sup> The still larger Colossi of Memnon were family groups showing the king with Tiye and his mother, Mutemwia.<sup>80</sup> In relief, Tiye was shown with female captives in subjection,<sup>81</sup> a motif that is paralleled for Akhenaten's queen, Nefertiti.<sup>82</sup> The Cairo group was found

77. Naville (1894–1908) 4: pl. XLVII; Brunner (1964) pl. 4.

78. For a full study of this crucial example, see Krauss (1991).

79. Müller (1988) IV—21–22, pl. 5.

80. Porter and Moss (1972) 449–50.

81. Lange and Hirmer (1968) pl. 154; Epigraphic Survey (1980) pls. 48–49.

82. E.g., Cooney (1965) 82–93, no. 51a.



out of context at Medinet Habu, so that its original orientation, and whether it was meant primarily to address people outside the temple, cannot be reconstructed.<sup>83</sup>

Perhaps following Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III promoted his kingly role through colossal statuary.<sup>84</sup> A number of statues had unique epithets that characterized them as "Ruler of Rulers" or similarly.<sup>85</sup> The statues in front of temple pylons faced toward the outside world, and ostensibly addressed the temple visitor. Most of them depicted the king or the king with his family—the best-known instance being the Colossi of Memnon in front of his mortuary temple—but some showed him carrying standards, a statue type that developed greatly in the late New Kingdom;<sup>86</sup> one pair of such statues, outside the temple complex of Mont to the north of Karnak, had been smashed into small fragments and buried near where it had probably once stood.<sup>87</sup> Colossal and standard-bearing statues projected the king's divinity and his intermediary role with the gods—the latter aspect being attested explicitly under Thutmose IV.

Amenhotep III's divinity can be seen also in his self-deification at the Nubian temple of Soleb, where he became a lunar deity to whom he himself offered the cult.<sup>88</sup> Like the Soleb cult, however, the Nubian cult did not contribute to a unified deification of the king's living person. Rather, together with exalting epithets, such as *jtn-thn*, "Dazzling Sun Disk," the Nubian statues formed part of a diverse range of royal manifestations. Some statues may have been intended as the focus of semipopular cults, as evidently happened in the Ramesside period.<sup>89</sup> In addition, under both Amenhotep III and Ramses II, one effect of this colossal statuary and the architecture among which it stood was to integrate the temples with their cities by projecting the king's presence beyond temple enclosures and thus to map kingship into the

83. As Marianne Eaton-Krauss points out (personal communication), the whole area between the mortuary temple and Malqata may have held constructions of Amenhotep III.

84. See Bryan (1987) 10–13; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 129–31.

85. The salient example is the pair of the Colossi of Memnon: see Helck (1957a) 1746–47 (south colossus). For the much better attested comparable names on statues of Ramses II, see Wildung (1973) 558, with references.

86. Wildung (1973); Eaton-Krauss (1976), esp. 72; Chadeffaud (1982); Müller (1988) IV–4, with references.

87. Müller (1988) IV—51–52, with references; Robichon and Varille (1956), esp. 47–48; Vandersleyen et al. (1975) pl. 186; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 141, figs. V.21–22. This destruction cannot be dated but is in any case likely to indicate that the ideas associated with the statues were particularly abhorrent to whoever ordered it. The excavators proposed that the destruction was due to fire, but I would suggest that it was in any case deliberate. Some Roman period coins were found with the fragments, but it was not possible to date the deposit.

88. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 106–10, esp. 108, fig. IV.28.

89. See, e.g., Habachi (1969).

space and structure of human society, particularly within the royal city. It is uncertain how far this idea was taken and its implications were disseminated because the degree of "public" access to the statues is unknown. Works as large as the Colossi of Memnon must have been visible throughout much of Thebes and will have spread their message in that way. Apart from such statues, Amenhotep transformed and sacralized the whole city with processional ways running between the principal temple complexes, among other means.<sup>90</sup>

The same cosmic conception was probably significant in the regions under Egyptian domination. The idea is not securely attested from Egyptian possessions in the Near East (where something of the sort can be seen for the earlier Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties), but in the south the remote temple of Soleb between the Second and Third Cataracts of the Nile makes the point clearly.<sup>91</sup> Soleb, which was the largest temple so far constructed in Nubia, was related to a temple especially dedicated to Tiye some kilometers away at Sedeinga.<sup>92</sup> Together, these temples formed a marker for royal and divine possession of Nubia and thus incorporated a region outside a narrowly defined Egypt within its sacred cosmos.<sup>93</sup> Since that region has never been heavily populated, it is unlikely to have formed an urban focus, so a broader role for the temples in the Egyptian state or cosmos is more plausible.

Despite this increase in Amenhotep III's display of his and the gods' presence in the physical and social world, few temples seem to have changed radically in design during his reign. The exceptions to traditional forms are his mortuary temple, the *mzrw* temples, the structure named Khaemmaat in north Karnak (see n. 44), and the solar shrine in the eastern part of Karnak.<sup>94</sup> This last dated back at least to Thutmose III and so was not closely related to recent developments, but it was important in providing a model of a shrine that, like other solar constructions, was in the open air and hence, except for the physical protection offered by the walls of the sacred enclosure, was not concealed from view. Akhenaten constructed temples that were, like traditional temples, protected from the outside by pylons, entrance gateways, and multiple courts. Unlike their predecessors, however, their entire structure

90. Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 103–4.

91. Largely unpublished: see Schiff Giorgini, Robichon, and Leclant (1965); Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 106–10.

92. Almost entirely unpublished: see Porter and Moss (1951) 166; Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 110, with fig. IV.31 and n. 97.

93. For more detailed arguments, see O'Connor's discussion in chap. 5 in the present book.

94. See Kees (1949).



and furnishings were in principle depicted in numerous representations set up in non-“sacred” places, notably nonroyal tombs. Anyone could in theory know the character and constitution of the god’s sanctuary. Yet there is no suggestion that they were public places of worship. The principal reason for their accessibility may have been that as solar sanctuaries they were open to the sky, but the way they were depicted is characteristic of the dichotomy between Akhenaten’s openness in display and his absolute claims for exclusive knowledge in his religion. The world of nature was otherwise shown responding to its creator’s provision of sunshine, but from outside the temple.<sup>95</sup> In Akhenaten’s architecture a pervasive feature, which remained in use for as long as Egyptian temples were built, was the “broken lintel,” a door surround truncated to leave its center open to the sky, affirming that the sun should penetrate even at a point where access was obstructed by a door.<sup>96</sup> This has traditionally been considered an innovation of Akhenaten, but it turns out to be one of the many elements from the preceding period that he adopted and increased enormously in significance. The earliest broken lintel known to me is a doorway depicted, together with a caption naming the materials from which it was made, among the offerings of Thutmose IV to Amon-Ra in the reliefs of his court at Karnak; these were dismantled and buried in the time of Thutmose’s son Amenhotep III. It is unlikely that this was the only such structure of its time, and it should not be assumed that it was otherwise unknown just because this particular representation of the form was buried soon after it was carved. Rather, this form was probably introduced in the Theban area in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty but had not become widespread (it could have had a Heliopolitan origin).

Associated with the change in visibility of temples is a change in the decorum of decorated monuments. Reliefs in Amarna temples—known principally from the Karnak structures rather than from Amarna itself—have a great variety of subject matter, ranging from rituals in which the whole royal family is frequently shown to detailed representation of cult structures, including their storehouses and other less prestigious elements. Reliefs in nonroyal tombs include representations of temple interiors, something that would be unthinkable in earlier times, when the pylon was the most that could be shown. There is a degree of overlap in content between

95. Martin (1989b) pls. 34–35. Similar scenes are preserved on unpublished blocks from the Karnak temples of the first years of the reign (Christian Loeben [personal communication]).

96. This well-known feature has hardly been discussed explicitly; see, e.g., Arnold (1994) 268–69. The wall of Thutmose IV with a representation of a broken lintel is on view in the Open-air Museum at Karnak; for the caption to the doorway with the broken lintel, see Letellier (1979) 57–58 (does not mention lintel).

temple and tomb that goes altogether beyond what occurred earlier. Thus, the temple interiors open to the sky have analogies in the loosening of decorative conventions. These changes have implications for the king’s role and for how we view the purpose of the whole development of Amarna (see also the conclusion of this chapter).

Apart from the enormous numbers of altars shown in the Amarna temples, their other salient feature is depiction of numerous statues of the king and queen.<sup>97</sup> Except in the shrines of the first few years of the reign at Karnak and in the so-called Great Aten Temple, which appears to have been some sort of reception area,<sup>98</sup> these statues were not very large, though their form was similar to that of colossal statues. Especially at Karnak, sphinxes also formed part of Akhenaten and Nefertiti’s depicted and sculptural repertory. Unlike the colossal statues of Amenhotep III, which addressed the world outside, many of those of Akhenaten and Nefertiti faced toward the sanctuary and thus were focused on the cult as symbolic participants or officiants. They presented the rulers to the god and formed part of the reign’s typical interchange between god and king, ignoring the world here as did many of Akhenaten’s monuments.

The sculptural groups at the boundary stelae of Amarna provide an analogy for these statues.<sup>99</sup> Like the temples of the Theban area, these demarcated the sacred space of the capital city—in this case explicitly, for the stela text focused on this topic. Nonetheless, the audience for the stelae was the god rather than the people. Although people could have read the text and could see the monument from a considerable distance, the statuary showed the king and his family adoring his god and dedicating the stela to him. In the presentation of god, temples, and capital city, there were thus paradoxes between the openness of what was shown, the slight involvement of anyone other than the king, and the small degree to which he disseminated knowledge of the god.

As under Amenhotep III, Akhenaten’s demarcation of the god’s world may have extended to the limit of Egyptian possessions. There is again no evidence from Syria-Palestine, but the temple of Kawa near modern Dongola, farther south than any New Kingdom temple except the lost one of Napata (Gebel Barkal), may have been founded or reconfirmed under Akhenaten. The datable buildings on the site are no earlier than Tutankhamun, but the ancient name Gematen (*gm-(p3)-jtn*) can hardly have be-

97. E.g., Davies (1903–8) 1: pl. XI; 2: pl. XIX; 3: pls. X–XI; conveniently gathered in Müller (1988) III—125–30, figs. 25–30.

98. Assmann (1972b).

99. Davies (1903–8) 5: pls. 36–44; Murnane and Van Siclen (1993).



longed to any time except the reign of Akhenaten.<sup>100</sup> Although phrases compounded with Aten, such as Amenhotep III's epithet *jtn-tḥn* ("Dazzling Sun Disk"), were used outside the reign of Akhenaten, this is hardly true of ones including the definite article *p3*, which are confined to his time. I therefore suggest that Kawa was at least planned to have a temple that encompassed the southernmost reaches of the Aten's possessions, as Soleb and Sedeinga did for Amenhotep III and Tiye.

Royal iconography in relief and in statuary diversified under Amenhotep III. Apart from the increase in large-scale statuary, new forms were introduced at smaller scales. Notable among these are two statues showing the king wearing a cloaklike garment and a miniature statue with a *djed*-pillar at the back.<sup>101</sup> In statuary and relief iconography, the principal development was in the variety of insignia worn, including numerous multiple headdresses that combined attributes in an unwearable form that was meaningful in a scene or complex relief composition.

This freeing of relief images from constraints of "realism" may have helped to open the way for the extravagances of Akhenaten's style and compositions. An additional aspect of diversity was the range of physical forms of the king. Amenhotep III was represented in various types—youthful or even childlike, youthfully mature and strong, older and obese—and in artistic styles ranging from the plain to the highly mannered (figs. 8.4 and 8.5). There have been attempts to link this variety to the phases of his reign and to ideological or iconographic factors. Some of these points must be valid, but the variation probably related also to the unprecedented level of artistic activity in the reign and to the simultaneous existence of numerous ateliers and styles.<sup>102</sup> Similar variations can be observed for the early Nineteenth Dynasty. The alternative that has been proposed, that variation and the presence of analogous trends under Akhenaten are evidence for a coregency of Amenhotep III and his son,<sup>103</sup> seems implausible to me.<sup>104</sup>

The diversification of the king's divine role and of the imagery and

100. Macadam (1955) 1:12–14, building on work of F.L.I. Griffith, assumed that Kawa had been founded under Amenhotep III and that there had been no construction there under Akhenaten; this ignores the *p3* in the place-name.

101. See, respectively, Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 146, fig. V.28; *ibid.* 204–6, no. 23 (miniature statue). Kozloff and Bryan treat the miniature statue as an image of "Amenhotep III as a fertility god."

102. For a collection of the material, see Müller (1988). See also the papers in Berman (1990); Kozloff and Bryan (1992).

103. See, e.g., Johnson (1990) and his discussion in chap. 3 in the present book. See the historical presentation of Delange in Kozloff and Bryan (1992) 23–34.

104. Cf. Romano (1990).

iconography used to project it fit not so much with the style of Akhenaten's reign as with possibilities that he exploited in presenting his own role and that his artists used in presenting him and his family. The clearest ways in which Amenhotep III anticipated Akhenaten are in the features mentioned earlier of the role of Queen Tiye and the inclusion of his daughters in statuary.

Finally, I review religious ceremonial and the legitimation it offered in temples and in kingship rituals. In his building of temples and other ceremonial structures, Amenhotep III seems to have gone far beyond his predecessors,<sup>105</sup> even if this appearance may be due in part to the exceptional preservation of buildings of his reign. His urban projects had a ritual meaning as well as a general symbolic one: among other functions, the city was a stage for enacting kingship. Moreover, his three elaborately prepared Sed Festivals can be contrasted with the absence of evidence for such festivals from the reign of Thutmose III, the earlier king in the dynasty who reigned long enough to celebrate them. Perhaps there are special reasons why Thutmose might not have had Sed Festivals, or they were not on a scale that would have left much evidence for them. The first would have come rather early in his sole reign, when he was involved in military campaigns outside Egypt and might not have wished to present his rule as having already lasted for decades. The festivals could also have been held in Memphis, where evidence is unlikely to survive. Nonetheless, Amenhotep III may have been a true innovator here.

The palace of Malqata in western Thebes seems to have been built around the time of the first Sed Festival and to have been used primarily for those celebrations. Along the low desert nearby were structures related to the festival.<sup>106</sup> The buildings in this area were constructed in mud brick, as was normal for all but major temples, and they were probably temporary, as in a sense was any particular dwelling for the living. Despite this ephemeral celebratory character, their location near the king's monumental funerary temple and the lake now known as Birket Habu integrated them into the city's ceremonial space and so seems to give them a prominence comparable with the demarcation of the city of Akhetaten by royal dwellings at its edge and center.<sup>107</sup> Amenhotep III as well as Akhenaten may thus have emphasized to an unwonted degree the ritualization of the king's daily life and periodic festivals.

105. For Sed Festivals and the range of evidence for Amenhotep III, see Hornung et al. (1974) 33–36; this material could now be extended.

106. Kom el-Samak: Waseda (1983). Kom el-'Abd: Kemp (1977).

107. O'Connor has furthered greatly the understanding of these aspects of the city. See O'Connor (1989) and his discussion in chap. 5 in the present book.



An additional aspect of the Sed Festival was its manner of enactment. All kings aspired to celebrate this festival, which was as ancient as kingship, or to have a perpetual series of celebrations, mostly in the next life.<sup>108</sup> Amenhotep III used ancient models for his celebration, as is recorded in the Theban tomb of Kheruef (their precise period is not stated).<sup>109</sup> The tomb also contains depictions of parts of the festival. These present it in the most contemporary artistic style, showing no clear debt to the remote past, but analogies can be drawn with Old Kingdom relief motifs.<sup>110</sup> They offer no immediate comparison with the Old Kingdom reliefs of Neuserre, the fullest available earlier source.<sup>111</sup> The search for past records belonged to an old tradition, best exemplified by the Thirteenth Dynasty stela of King Neferhotep about the temple of Osiris at Abydos.<sup>112</sup> This use of the past can be compared with the variety of royal and nonroyal sculptural types known from the reign; the statuary of Amenhotep son of Hapu, the most prominent nonroyal individual of the reign, looks to the Middle Kingdom for stylistic models.<sup>113</sup> The most remarkable attested revival of an ancient object is a fragmentary late predynastic palette on whose back was carved a relief showing Amenhotep III and Tiye.<sup>114</sup> Such evidence suggests that under his reign the increased diversity of religious approaches and artistic forms may have been accentuated by use of past models, in addition to the continued development of new types.

A significant feature of the Sed Festival reliefs in the tomb of Kheruef is the presence of Queen Tiye and of royal daughters.<sup>115</sup> As discussed by Edward F. Wente, the presence of the goddess Hathor in one relief offers a commentary on the role of the king and queen, enhancing his status toward that of the sun god.<sup>116</sup> This and the underlying meaning of the Luxor temple are ritual elements in the reign that converge with the part played by the city and by royal statuary to bring the king as close as possible to being a god; I do not believe that he was ever completely a god.

All these points have parallels under Akhenaten. Ancient ritual and cult elements that he retained after the move to Amarna were the Mnevis Bull and

the *bnbn* stone of Heliopolis,<sup>117</sup> which led some scholars to suggest that he was seeking in part to revive the "original" solar cult.<sup>118</sup> The Sed Festival was a central theme of his Karnak shrines and remained significant in epithets after the move to Amarna.<sup>119</sup> His god celebrated Sed Festivals that reinforced both his kingly character and the analogy between Akhenaten and his father the Aten. The presence of the king's female relatives in reliefs in almost all contexts is analogous with the treatment of Amenhotep III's queen and daughters in statuary and in the reliefs of Kheruef (where they may reinterpret old models).<sup>120</sup> Despite these analogies, Akhenaten transformed the meaning of motifs; he could not have adopted past elements in any literal fashion. Amenhotep III used the past and ritual within a developing tradition, however much change he may have introduced. Akhenaten's legitimizing purpose in exploiting and adapting these motifs was different. Perhaps the most striking example of how past materials might be used in his context, paralleling the ancient palette revived by Amenhotep III, is a fragment of a stone bowl from Akhenaten's tomb inscribed with the name of Khephren, the builder of the Second Pyramid at Giza.<sup>121</sup>

#### The Significance of Art; Styles in Statuary, Relief, and Painting

The changes Akhenaten introduced that affected his god and his person form a single, interconnected complex. The other developments of his time are not so neatly defined and circumscribed, but the available record focuses on art and architecture and thus is comparable with that of Amenhotep III.

The prominence of artistic forms throughout this period—and in much of Egyptian history—is itself significant.<sup>122</sup> Both traditional elite civilization and Akhenaten's reforms centered around high culture.<sup>123</sup> In a sense, to look for a popular base for reform is irrelevant, except insofar as many people were needed to implement Amenhotep III's and Akhenaten's grandiose schemes. The contribution of labor extracted from most people was no doubt largely taken for granted by king and elite. Ultimately, legitimation of

108. Martin (1982); for early manifestations, see Baines (1995) 128–35. There is no general study of the Sed Festival.

109. Epigraphic Survey (1980) 43, pl. 28.

110. Wente (1969) 86–89.

111. Bissing et al. (1908–28); Kaiser (1971), (1983).

112. Helck (1975d) 21–22; Anthes (1974) 16–17.

113. Gathered in Varille (1968).

114. Bothmer (1969–70); provenance unknown.

115. Epigraphic Survey (1980) pls. 24–26, 41–46.

116. Wente (1969).

117. On the *hwt-bnbn*, see Barguet (1976); on the image of the *bnbn*, see Davies (1903–8) 1: pl. XI.

118. E.g., Gardiner (1961) 218—arguing a rather different point.

119. Gohary (1976), (1992).

120. Note the ritual relief of Thutmose IV with his mother Tiaa: Letellier (1991) 37, fig. 1. Several possible queens of Thutmose IV are known, the principal one being Nefertiry, who is also frequently represented in relief: see Bryan (1991) 93–141.

121. Martin (1974) 96, no. 414.

122. Surprisingly, the specific importance of art in the reforms has hardly been a focus of discussion (but see n. 152 in this chapter); for a more general discussion, see Baines (1994b).

123. Baines and Yoffee (in press).



these exactions was available in the underlying belief that king and elite maintained the cosmos on behalf of society as a whole.<sup>124</sup> Most elites in history have not been unduly troubled by the exactions and inequalities they impose on others, but if such impositions are to be accepted, it is necessary for the ideology to permeate society at least to some extent.

Artistic activity created an aestheticized world that enacted and celebrated the king's role as protagonist of human society in the cosmos and dedicated it to the gods or god. Art constituted the world it celebrated and was not a separate domain of meaning: if Thebes and Amarna had not had an artistic form, they would not have served their purpose.

Within this prominence of art were foci on specific architectural and artistic forms, styles, and iconographies. This is where the reign of Amenhotep III shows marked development, in diversity and in the scale, form, and meaning of works. His reign contrasts with the evolution of that of Akhenaten, during which diversity of styles was rapidly reduced, although it may have increased again in his last years.

The vast scale of building activities under Amenhotep III and the many types for which evidence is preserved render evaluation of their diversity and innovations difficult, because little comparable evidence from earlier in the dynasty is available. Since architecture supplied the context for other art and was, with hard-stone statuary, the activity that used the largest amount of resources,<sup>125</sup> it is likely to have been the principal locus of new ideas, as was evidently the case under Akhenaten, with his building of numerous shrines at Karnak in his earlier years and the subsequent creation of his new city at Amarna. The obvious development under Amenhotep III was in the scale of building, both at Karnak and at Luxor, but some of this may have been anticipated by his father, Thutmose IV.<sup>126</sup> The remodeling of Thebes (see n. 90) and probably Memphis (see texts cited in nn. 37 and 41), as cosmic cities, and possibly of Egyptian territories as a broader cosmos, appears to be an innovation of the reign, but is unlikely to have had no antecedents. The most innovative structure appears to have been his mortuary temple—a focus that contrasts with the relatively modest “Small Aten Temple” at Amarna, which has been suggested to be Akhenaten's mortuary temple.<sup>127</sup>

124. For a royal legitimation in terms of the cult, see Assmann (1970).

125. Extraction and utilization of precious metals could have been as important but cannot now be assessed.

126. First remarked by Hornung (1965) 95. Here, Amenhotep's building at less well known centers should be borne in mind.

127. See Eaton-Krauss (1990) 550, with references; for the temple itself, see Mallinson

Thus, Amenhotep III's works in architecture appear innovative in numerous ways, and their grand scale formed part of the period's focus on the artistic. For representational art, the question of innovation is relatively easily investigated, because works comparable to those of Amenhotep III are available from earlier in the dynasty. The principal genres involved are tomb paintings and reliefs, on the one hand, and statuary, on the other. Temple reliefs cannot be compared straightforwardly with their precursors, while decorative and minor arts reached an almost unparalleled peak of production, in quality and quantity.<sup>128</sup> It is not possible to treat more than one genre properly in this essay, and I confine my comments to styles in nonroyal tombs.<sup>129</sup>

Tomb paintings saw the most original developments in Eighteenth Dynasty two-dimensional art,<sup>130</sup> and they departed increasingly from the rigid figurative and compositional schemata inherited from earlier epochs.<sup>131</sup> These paintings can be compared with the “secular” wall paintings of the royal palace at Malqata,<sup>132</sup> with which they share stylistic and technical features while treating different themes. Whereas painting was the dominant medium among mid-Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs, including the richest, the late reign of Amenhotep III saw a return to relief for the finest tombs, notably those of Kheruef and Ramose (the choice of relief or painting is partly determined by the quality of the rock, which may in its turn have influenced the choice of location).<sup>133</sup> The style of these tombs is very elaborate, with complex and refined detailing that exploits the potential of fine limestone to the full. Some writers have seen the developments in relief as conservative in comparison with painting, but this is probably a misreading. Rather, they constitute new development analogous to those of painting but realized in a very different way; the tomb of Kheruef in particular shows

(1989). It is also possible that Akhenaten did not plan a mortuary cult of the traditional type for himself, or that a mortuary temple planned for a different location has not been identified or excavated.

128. For these genres, see Kozloff and Bryan (1992). For the broader period, see Brovarski, Doll, and Freed (1982).

129. For the contrast between the treatment of Amenhotep III and of Akhenaten, see Müller (1988) II—122–25.

130. For excellent color photographs, principally of details, see Mekhitarian (1954).

131. A study with some important observations is Groenewegen-Frankfort (1951); an outline for a single tomb is provided in Kozloff (1979a); see also *idem* (1990).

132. See Nishimoto (1992), with references.

133. See also, e.g., the tomb of Kha'emhet, no. 57 (Porter and Moss [1960] 113–19); Lange and Hirmer (1968) pl. 179.



features that are both "fussy" in their detail and remarkably free and imaginative in general style.<sup>134</sup>

The contrast between style and content is most marked in the Sed Festival scenes of Kheruef, where the lively and intricate presentation of the dances in a contemporary style contrasts with their learned content, which may transform Old Kingdom and still older models, as in figures like the dwarf god Bes.<sup>135</sup> Under Akhenaten, the Sed Festival as represented at Karnak had unique features, notably scenes where the royal couple's bed was shown; in one they are next to it and no doubt implicitly occupy it.<sup>136</sup> These may have built on such associations as that of Queen Tiye with Hathor, in which the queen's sexual role was evoked; under Akhenaten this association was made more explicit, perhaps in part for lack of a deity through whose representation it could be indicated discreetly.<sup>137</sup> It is quite likely, however, that such details had an ancient source and hence were part of a general revival of the past. Thus, an ancient festival song with erotic overtones connecting the king and Hathor is inscribed in the Luxor temple in a section begun under Amenhotep III and completed under Horemheb.<sup>138</sup>

The tomb of Ramose illustrates the complex relations of painting, relief, and artistic styles in each.<sup>139</sup> Its largest areas of decoration are in relief. Their style is comparable with that of Kheruef, and they date a little later, covering the end of Amenhotep III's reign and the beginning of Akhenaten's (when he was still called Amenhotep). The east wall has an elaborate composition of figures at a banquet, together with offering bearers.<sup>140</sup> Not all of this was completed, and only the eyes of the figures, which were not carved in relief, were ever painted. The relief style of the west wall is very different, as is its subject matter, and the styles of its south and north halves also differ radically.<sup>141</sup> Their dates may, however, not be far apart, and the difference may be one of subject matter as much as style. The south is apparently conserva-

134. There is still a remarkable contrast between these tombs and the altogether more mannered and adventurous post-Amarna relief tombs of the Memphite necropolis (see, e.g., Martin 1989a).

135. Epigraphic Survey (1980) pls. 24–63.

136. Traunecker (1986), esp. 36, fig. 11; apparently not included in Gohary (1992).

137. Traunecker argues strongly for an assumption by Nefertiti of the solar aspects of the role of Hathor; see Traunecker (1986) 40–41. Cf. Wente (1969).

138. See Sethe (1929); Epigraphic Survey (1994) 12, with n. 33 and pls. 26, 97.

139. For full publication, without photographs, see Davies (1941); for bibliography to 1960, see Porter and Moss (1960) 105–11; for excellent photographs of details, see Lange and Hirmer (1968) pls. XXIX, 171–79; for dating, see Nims (1973).

140. Davies (1941) pls. VII–XXI.

141. Ibid. (1941) pls. XXIX–XXXVIII.

tive, while the unfinished north shows the solar disk with rays, with the new motif of the king and queen in the window of appearances beneath, rewarding the deeply bowing figure of Ramose. This scene is in the new style.

Ramose must have died at about this time, and the vital additional decoration was then executed, perhaps in the seventy-day period of mummification (as was technically possible).<sup>142</sup> This is the painting of the funerary cortege, with its mourning figures on the south cross wall of the hall.<sup>143</sup> Its style owes little, if anything, to the new artistic tendencies and is not even very advanced in terms of painting styles under Amenhotep III. It also contains traditional religious elements that soon became anathematized. The painting looks like a traditional composition but is not a makeshift: the work is of the highest quality, with telling individual touches.

The diversity of styles in this tomb shows the rapid evolution of relief carving and modes of composition, while the differences between the east wall and the south half of the west wall suggest that varying relief styles may have coexisted. The painting, as the latest part of the decoration, shows further that separate styles survived in paint contemporaneously with very different styles in other contexts, such as the palace of Malqata—quite apart from differences between painting and relief.

Hardly any monument offers such a diversity of artistic media and styles. The mixing of relief and painting may have been due to Ramose's sudden death, and some of the diversity relates to the accession of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten; nevertheless, the result must also bear witness to the range of artistic tendencies coexisting at the end of the reign of Amenhotep III, as well as the different purposes of the scenes in the tomb. In some respects, however, Ramose's tomb looks forward to the late Eighteenth Dynasty at Memphis and to the great Theban nonroyal tombs of the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., rather than to the more tightly structured and less expansive tombs of Amarna. Even its stylistic eclecticism can be compared better with such monuments as the tomb of Montuemhat<sup>144</sup> in the Asasif than with other New Kingdom tombs. Its scale and diversity exhibit both grandiose expenditure on a nonroyal mortuary monument and the pluralism and tolerance of leading two-dimensional artists of the time.

Artistic developments such as these could be paralleled in other contexts and media, and they have a clear analogy in the great diversity of royal statuary from Amenhotep III's reign, mentioned earlier. In painting, another

142. Baines et al. (1989), with references.

143. Davies (1941) pls. XXIII–XXVII; for a color photograph, see Lange and Hirmer (1968) pl. XXIX.

144. No. 34; see Porter and Moss (1960) 56–61.



significant area of change is in representational forms. Some specifically painterly innovations, and others focused on the rendering of the single figure, are evident in the reigns of both Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, whereas the most striking changes in composition occurred in the Amarna period itself. The first group of changes may have helped to set the scene for what followed, but the Amarna developments, which encompass a different canon of proportion for the single figure as well as striking compositional changes, are more radical and cannot be seen as being prefigured under Amenhotep III.

### Conclusions; Language

Much of my discussion inevitably focuses on details rather than trends. It should now be asked how far the material reviewed contributes toward a general understanding of the changes introduced by Akhenaten and their relation with the immediate past.

Three features that appear to characterize the reign of Amenhotep III are an increased rate of cultural change, an accentuated diversity or plurality, and a further intensified direction of material resources into art and "public" display. While these are impossible to quantify or prove, the number of new elements seems to exceed what might be spared by chances of preservation. There is also a diversity in points of reference, notably to more remote past periods; in all but literary material (which happens to be unattested), the evidence relates to a wide range of dates and types. This broad and complex exploitation of the past might imply a concern to legitimize policy, but I prefer to see it, at least in part, as having a more general significance in the development of high culture.<sup>145</sup>

In combination with the high level of wealth and the probable increased size of the elite under Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, these tendencies may have created a sense of potential for change at a further enhanced rate, but there is no reason to believe that they required it. The principal novelty—and the most relevant one for Akhenaten—is the new solar religion. I have argued here that this could have originated before Amenhotep III and was one of several current conceptions of the sun god. Nonetheless, its radical turning away from the paraphernalia of solar religion, in the plural context of Amenhotep III's reign, may have provided a context for subsequent change, even though it coexisted with other possibilities. Pluralism is perhaps the dominant issue arising from this coexistence: the starker and simpler new solar religion may have thrown the normal divergent harmony of beliefs

145. Baines (1989).

more strongly into relief than ever before. The absence of an explicit alternative to the very hegemonic Egyptian cultural framework may have militated against developing a more open pluralism—as was found, for example, in Greco-Roman and late antique Egypt.<sup>146</sup>

None of the features I have discussed can account for Akhenaten's changes, either separately or together. They may have provided a context in which more radical change could occur, but they did not require such change. His transformation may have been motivated by a mixture of religious and political factors, but his intention was clearly to revolutionize both beliefs about the sun god and that god's relation with the king and with the world. The revolution acquired a momentum that made it almost an end in itself, spreading far wider than the issues at the core of the changes. The integrated character of Egyptian civilization may have made this breadth of approach necessary; religion was simply not separable from politics and art.

Change extended to most aspects of high culture. Here, it is worth singling out the treatment of the written language. The traditional written form was far from what was spoken but could record considerably changed forms that would still be comprehensible in terms of the existing written norm.<sup>147</sup> The language of hieroglyphic inscriptions had evolved far from the conservative forms of the reign of Hatshepsut a century earlier, but the development was uneven and did not tend toward a reform. Inscriptions from the Amarna period show far more change, extending to some of the hieroglyphs used. What was written there was still far from the spoken language, as is shown by the speed at which written Late Egyptian developed thereafter, but a move straight to writing the vernacular—so far as such a thing is possible—was perhaps not conceivable. Written language may have been an area where change was introduced almost for its own sake, without an intent that related closely to religious and political ideas.<sup>148</sup>

This integration of revolutionary change with cultural forms that were not at the revolution's center has many parallels, not least because a "revolution" needs to legitimize itself and persuade others. The creation of "revolutionary" artistic styles is almost a diagnostic feature of revolutions that see and proclaim themselves as such. Often the forms of the new art are conserv-

146. E.g., Bagnall (1993).

147. Behnk (1931) studied the language of Amarna in outline, but this issue has not been investigated in detail. See also Silverman (1991).

148. Behnk ([1931] 1, § 1) followed a view that was then common, that the new language was part of a search for "truth" (*mꜥt*). Anthes (1952) showed that this interpretation could not be adequate.



ative—twentieth-century socialist realism is an obvious example—but this was not at all the case with Akhenaten.

Revolutionary change aims at a level of transformation that may leave the analyst studying motives of individuals rather than general historical causes or contributory factors, because nothing in immediately preceding conditions positively determined what happened next. Human intention and motivation retain a central role. For the case of Akhenaten, I suggest that his motivation aimed specifically to reverse existing conventions and hence can rightly be termed revolutionary. The details of personal motivation, are, however, virtually inaccessible for such a remote period—which is one reason for the flood of published speculation about Akhenaten.

Writers on this period have often not considered its widespread reversal of conventions, which is most evident in artistic forms. Some Amarna departures, especially in style and in iconography, evidently intended to reject convention almost before all else. One instance is the traditional rule of temple decorum in which the concrete gifts of food ranked lower than the abstract ones of “life and power” (*nh w3s*).<sup>149</sup> This was reversed notably in the decoration of columns, where food offerings such as swathes of birds were shown above the frieze of symbols of life and power.<sup>150</sup> This change probably had a representational or cosmographic symbolism, because the positioning of the offerings on the columns was more “realistic” than the one it replaced, which related to the rule that elements like food had to be shown in connection with human or divine figures manipulating or receiving them. The swathe of food was a more direct symbol of provision for or by the deity. At the same time, the rearrangement was shocking in traditional terms, because life and power were qualities deriving from the gods that were inherently divine; to set them below food might seem to negate fundamental symbolic hierarchies—in a way that would be surprising even under Akhenaten, since he too conceived of life as his god’s most important gift to him. The awkward relation between material and symbolic well-being is, however, also apparent in representations of temples, where the sole major motif remaining in central areas is the altar piled with food, which is repeated endlessly (see n. 97).

In the case of artistic style, the essential constraint on the new forms was that they had to be different from their predecessors. Their point of departure was the most mannered style of the reign of Amenhotep III, but they went further, exaggerating manner above much else, probably including con-

149. E.g., Baines (1985b).

150. Ibid. 280, with references.

ventions of “beauty.” There may have been iconographic meaning in some of the new extreme forms of the human body and physiognomy—although attempts to define such meanings have generally failed<sup>151</sup>—but I believe that a principal motivation was the desire to reject and transform existing styles. In this process, certain current tendencies were vastly exaggerated, probably by artists who had been trained in those tendencies. With the rejection went a dismissal of fifteen hundred years of more or less consistent artistic development. But changes in representation and composition did not produce a new rendering of nature, even if they may have taken existing forms to the brink of one.<sup>152</sup> Some developments in the treatment of the single figure in particular built on existing tendencies,<sup>153</sup> while others may have gone as far as was imaginable toward abrogating these tendencies.

Since Akhenaten’s religious beliefs took their point of departure in the new solar religion and essentially “purified” them by subtraction, it is difficult to see the beliefs themselves as motivating his changes, unless—as is possible—his comprehension of their implications was very different from that of their originators. What was new was twofold: the status of the beliefs as dogmas, which is seen most clearly in the later form of the new god’s name; and the role of the king. It is not appropriate to see the treatment of the king’s position as resulting purely from his wishing to arrogate more power to himself—Amenhotep III had wielded enormous power, as had Thutmose III—but that desire was surely still important. Different, mutually reinforcing factors were probably at work. The king wished to impose the dogmas, and his conceiving of them as such was essential in the change. To impose them, he needed to enhance his status. Since that was vital to the whole conception, he may not have seen ideas about his god and himself as separable, but insofar as he merged them he transformed the position of the king in traditional religion. In this process, his vision of his role may have altered inherited elements so much that kingship, which was as vital to his god as to himself, became almost the principal driving force in development.

151. See Bryan (1992) and Bryan in Kozloff and Bryan (1992). Bryan’s work provides a more valid approach than earlier studies, but I remain uncertain whether the emphasis on bodily weight and the middle body area carries the implications of creation and fertility that she proposes, either for the statuary of Amenhotep III or for that of Akhenaten.

152. Many writers have mentioned representational developments, but there has been no systematic study. For art-historical analysis of the changes, see Schäfer (1931); Frankfort (1932); Groenewegen-Frankfort (1951). More recent analyses, such as Aldred (1973), have not covered the same ground.

153. For an excellent analysis of the foot and toes, see Russmann (1980). For similar possibilities with the palm of the hand, see briefly Baines (1992).



The other probable driving forces are the dogma and the revolution themselves. For at least the first half of Akhenaten's reign, the dogma evolved in stages, and its revolutionary implications, of which the most characteristic expression is perhaps the erasure of the name of Amon and of the word *gods* from the monuments (see n. 3), were explored and put into effect.

In all of this, the idea of revolution—for which, as is to be expected, no Egyptian word is known—and the desire for total cultural transformation are the most striking innovations. Although such movements have occurred in many cultures and contexts, Akhenaten's revolution is one of the clearest and oldest identifiable instances.

For reasons outlined earlier, a search for the components of revolution in its antecedents is inevitably problematic. The contrast between the periods on either side of the reign of Akhenaten, however, suggests that Amenhotep III's reign set the scene in vital ways. The diversity of primarily religious and artistic activity in his reign, the level of resources devoted to them, and the scale of innovation may have created a context that called for a strong response. Such responses are, however, more often adaptive or conservative than revolutionary, so that the personal role of Akhenaten as well as his and his group's decisions about the directions of change remain fundamental. Amenhotep III's reign is an indispensable but partial pointer to the revolution's nature and direction.

To say that the reign of Akhenaten throws light on that of Amenhotep III is to use hindsight perhaps too freely; nevertheless, without Akhenaten, scholars would hardly have comprehended how wide-ranging the changes in the preceding decades were. Many of them may have originated earlier and may have drawn inspiration from much older times, but the diversity and dynamism of Amenhotep III's reign is brought out, rather than diminished, by the altogether more radical changes of his successor.

Finally, I should return to another question of method posed near the beginning of this chapter—that of the validity of interpretations of such changes as those of Akhenaten. The principal issues that have emerged in the discussion are three. In order of increasing generality, these are problems of dating, the status of change in various cultural manifestations, and the attempt to validate an overall interpretation in terms of “revolution.”

In the case of dating, my argument has been cautious, in the context of the fragmentary record from antiquity: hardly any identifiable trend necessarily originated at its first date of attestation, and the recovery and interpretation of increasing quantities of texts shows that some developments of Amenhotep III's time were anticipated by centuries or more. It seems, however, either that the diversity of religious currents, especially in the solar cult, was

distinctive for his reign or that his reign was the culmination of a trend, one of whose principal contributory factors may have been a long period of peace, increasing wealth, and wide-ranging contacts among the elite. The result was something like an “international style,” of a type that had hardly existed before.

The radical changes in many and various cultural forms under Akhenaten provide a principal argument for saying that his changes were revolutionary. It is more difficult to say whether there was change on such a broad front under Amenhotep III, and his changes appear not to be revolutionary but to enhance existing developments and trends—as I have noted for the solar cult. Instead of any direct assessment, my argument here focuses on the diversity of types, notably in art and in the use of the past. These cases seem to document an intensive discourse with and through cultural forms that might allow them to be put into question. This discourse may in part have enabled or set the scene for revolution. But it did not in itself tend toward revolution.

I suggest that the concept of revolution can usefully be applied to Akhenaten's reforms, principally because of their deliberate attack on existing culture and, in some cases, their espousal of change more or less for its own sake. In the terminology of Thomas Kuhn, writing of the very different area of natural science,<sup>154</sup> Akhenaten's changes sought to create a new “paradigm.” Despite the difference of context, Kuhn's approach is useful here, because the religious focus of Akhenaten may have been rather like some scientific changes, with its originator seeing it in part as resolving an anomaly in existing beliefs. Those who have seen that change as “conservative” have, I think, missed its general thrust. Unlike scientists, Akhenaten had the power to enact his revolutions at least among the elite and to create some of the dislocations attendant on any revolution. Subsequent periods looked back to the reign of Amenhotep III as the preceding time of order and legitimacy. This perspective may evoke a genuine difference between the two reigns and between the changes that occurred in them. From that point of view, Amenhotep III's reign was the predawn, rather than the dawn, of the Amarna age. That it could be viewed in such a light is an indication of how sudden the changes of Amarna were.

But another approach is possible here. One may ask to what extent the developments of this period were more than changes of belief and had general cognitive implications. The co-occurrence of changes in a number of domains can be read either as demonstrating the all-pervasive nature of

154. Kuhn (1970).



Akhenaten's "revolution" or as showing that a transformation of a different type was in progress (or both). In speaking of the Egyptian "crisis of polytheism" in the entire late second millennium, Jan Assmann has implicitly taken the latter view,<sup>155</sup> and indeed any such change could not be confined to the reign of Akhenaten alone. Rather, the Amarna period reveals in the strongest form more general developments that were occurring in a number of domains. The aftermath of the Amarna period saw the rejection of most of those changes. In this perspective, the reign of Amenhotep III was the time of maximum potential, which was followed by one possible realization under Akhenaten. The realization could not be predicted from what went before, and its idiosyncratic character is due to its chief protagonists. Whereas the sudden changes of Amarna could not have been anticipated, in cognitive terms the ground must have been prepared for them in the preceding decades, especially under Amenhotep III.

155. Assmann (1995); for a discussion in a broader context, see idem (1990).

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## Contributors

John Baines is Professor of Egyptology at the University of Oxford. He is the author of many books and articles, including *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster and Chicago, 1985) and, with J. Málek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford and New York, 1980).

Lawrence M. Berman is Research Curator of Egyptian Art at the Cleveland Museum of Art. He holds a Ph.D. in Egyptology from Yale University and is the editor of a multiauthor volume entitled *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* (Cleveland, 1990).

Betsy M. Bryan is the Alexander Badawy Professor of Egyptian Art and Archaeology at Johns Hopkins University. She received her Ph.D. in Egyptology from Yale University. She is the author of a biography of Thutmose IV, entitled *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore, 1991).

Eric H. Cline is Adjunct Research Assistant Professor in the Department of Classics at the University of Cincinnati. He received his Ph.D. in Ancient History from the University of Pennsylvania. His specialty is interconnections in the ancient world during the Late Bronze Age. He has published a book on this topic, entitled *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean* (Oxford, 1994).

W. Raymond Johnson is Field Director of the Epigraphic Survey conducted by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. He received his Ph.D. in Egyptology from the University of Chicago. He has published several articles with important implications on the art and sculpture from the time of Amenhotep III.

Kenneth A. Kitchen is Emeritus Professor of Egyptology at the University of Liverpool. He is a leading expert on the Nineteenth Dynasty and on the international connections of Egypt during the New Kingdom period. He is the author of numerous books and articles, including *Pharaoh Triumphant, Life and Times of Ramesses II* (Warminster, 1982) and a series of volumes on Ramesside inscriptions.

Arielle P. Kozloff, formerly Curator of Ancient Art at the Cleveland Museum of Art, is now Vice President of The Merrin Gallery in New York. She is coauthor, with Betsy Bryan, of *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland and Bloomington, Ind., 1992)—a tremendous catalog from the 1992 exhibit on Amenhotep III organized by Kozloff and Bryan.



William J. Murnane is Professor of History at the University of Memphis (formerly Memphis State University). He received his Ph.D. in Ancient History from the University of Chicago. He is the author of numerous books and articles, including *The Road to Kadesh* (Chicago, 1990) and *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (Chicago, 1977).

David O'Connor, formerly Curator of the Egyptian Section, University of Pennsylvania Museum, and Professor of Egyptology at the University of Pennsylvania, is the Lila Acheson Wallace Professor of Ancient Egyptian Art at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. He received his Ph.D. in Egyptology from Cambridge University in England. He has written many articles and is coauthor of *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983) and author of *Ancient Nubia: Egypt's Rival in Africa* (Philadelphia, 1993). He is a past president of the American Research Center in Egypt.

James M. Weinstein is a Visiting Fellow in the Department of Classics at Cornell University. He received his Ph.D. in Egyptology from the University of Pennsylvania. He is the author of numerous articles and is editor of the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.

## Title Index

- adjutant, 38, 178, 197, 199
- adjutant of Kush, 178
- adjutant of the army, 38, 199
- administrators of Upper and Lower Egypt, 173, 183
- army scribe, 180, 190
- chamberlain, 217
- charioteer, 178, 197
- chariot-soldier, 37
- chief grain measurer in the shena of the divine offerings of Amon, 190
- chief in the house of the morning, 213
- chief measurer of Amon, 209
- chief of recruits, 197, 198, 219
- chief of the company of pharaoh, 199
- chief of the double treasury and granary, 213
- chief of the entertainers of Amon, 5
- chief of the entertainers of Min, 5
- chief of the master craftsmen, 210
- chief of the master craftsmen in Southern Heliopolis, 210
- chief of the Medjay, 199, 200, 217
- chief of the Medjay at Thebes, 199
- chief of the Medjay on the west of Thebes, 199
- chief of troops, 197
- chief of works in the Sed Festival temple, 218
- chief steward, 58, 182, 184, 189, 209, 212, 213, 214
- chief steward of Amon, 209
- chief steward of Malqata, 88 n. 146
- chief steward of Memphis, 88 n. 144
- chief steward of the king, 189. *See also* king's chief steward
- chief vintner, 192, 276
- child of the inner palace, 178, 199, 216
- children of the nursery, 12
- civil mayors, 178
- commander, 5, 178, 180, 195, 196, 199, 204
- commander of the chariotry, 204
- commissioner, 180, 201
- company commander, 180
- cupbearer, 216
- deputies, 262
- director of the two thrones in the undertaking of the jubilee, 218
- divine adoratrice, 40 n. 55
- divisional commander, 199
- doorkeeper of the king, 214 n. 166
- festival leader, 213, 219
- festival leader of all the gods of White Walls, 213
- festival leader of Ptah, 213
- first god's servant, 207
- first king's herald, 184, 217
- first king's son of Amon, 186, 209
- first prophet of Amon, 208 n. 140, 209
- foreign vassals, 216
- foster child of the king, 58
- general, 61
- general of the lord of the Two Lands, 195
- god's father, 5 n. 18, 207
- god's mother, 3, 45
- gods' servant, 207
- god's servants, 219
- god's wife, 187
- god's wife of Amon, 40, 44, 45, 210



- granary chief, 183, 184, 185, 189, 213, 218  
 granary chief of the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt, 213  
 great chamberlain of the great house, 216 n. 173  
 great chief spokesman, 206  
 great king's steward in White Walls, 213  
 great overseer of the king's house, 212  
 great royal wife, 3, 4 n. 9, 5, 6, 7 n. 32, 12, 13, 14, 23, 40, 44, 45, 72, 217  
 great steward, 38, 203  
 great steward of Memphis, 203  
 Greatest of Seers, 210  
 guardian of the divine offerings of Amon, 188  
 herald, 37, 184, 213 n. 158, 214 n. 166, 217  
 high priest in Amenhotep III's mortuary temple, 204  
 high priest of Amon, 194, 202, 204, 208, 211, 220  
 high priest of Horus at Hebnu, 210 n. 147  
 high priest of Ptah, 8, 116, 210, 211, 215, 284  
 high priest of Ra, 48, 210  
 high priest of Theban Ptah, 210, 215  
 high steward of Memphis, 65, 284 n. 37  
 king's chief steward, 184, 213  
 king's herald, 184, 189  
 king's mother, 3, 4, 5, 23, 45, 99, 293  
 king's personal treasurer, 215  
 king's scribe, 184, 188, 191  
 king's son, 8  
 king's son of his body, 9, 41  
 king's son of Kush, 177, 178, 262  
 king's steward, 215  
 leader of the troops, 197. *See also* chief of troops  
 master of the horse, 5, 197  
 mayor, 38, 59, 60, 193, 194, 202, 203, 213, 220, 230, 231  
 mayor of Hu, 194  
 mayor of Memphis, 194, 203, 213  
 mayor of the Southern City, 194, 202  
 mayor of the west of Thebes, 220  
 mayor of Thebes, 38, 39, 193, 230  
 military commander, 178  
 military officer, 61 n. 121, 196, 207, 219  
 military scribe, 58, 61 n. 121  
 Nubian prince, 178, 179  
 ornament of the king, 212  
 overseer of all growing things, 187  
 overseer of all northern foreign lands, 227  
 overseer of all the crafts of the king, 213  
 overseer of all the gods, 212  
 overseer of all the works of the king, 188  
 overseer of all the works of the king in Upper and Lower Egypt, 205  
 overseer of cattle of Min, 5  
 overseer of cattle of the king's house, 182  
 overseer of craftsmen, 189  
 overseer of hooves, horns, feathers, and scales, 187  
 overseer of Meidum, 193 n. 81  
 overseer of northern countries, 180  
 overseer of nursing of the king's son, 215  
 overseer of the audience chamber, 215  
 overseer of the cattle of Amon, 177, 178, 194, 212  
 overseer of the cattle of pharaoh, 192  
 overseer of the city, 201  
 overseer of the desert hills on the west of Thebes, 193, 199  
 overseer of the double granary of Amon throughout the nomes that are in Lower Egypt, 194  
 overseer of the double granary of Upper and Lower Egypt, 173, 183, 184

- overseer of the double house of gold and/or silver, 182, 192  
 overseer of the double treasury, 185  
 overseer of the expedition, 196  
 overseer of the gold lands of Amon, 178  
 overseer of the granary, 185, 200  
 overseer of the granary of Amon, 185  
 overseer of the house of gold, 220  
 overseer of the inner palace of pharaoh in Akhet-Aten, 214  
 overseer of the king's harem, 216 n. 174  
 overseer of the priests of all the gods, 211  
 overseer of the priests of Upper and Lower Egypt, 211  
 overseer of the prophets of Upper and Lower Egypt, 208  
 overseer of the pure fields of Atum, 48 n. 76  
 overseer of the seal, 183, 214  
 overseer of the shena (labor establishment), 186  
 overseer of the silver house, 187 n. 54  
 overseer of the southern foreign countries, 178  
 overseer of the treasury, 24, 59, 60, 182, 200  
 overseer of the wine place, 187  
 overseer of the works of Amon, 178  
 overseer of works, 105, 118  
 overseer of works in the Red Mountain, 215  
 policeman, 186, 217  
 priest of Anubis, 218  
 priest of Anubis on the jubilee day of the first Sed Festival of His Majesty, 218  
 priest of Min, 5  
 priestess of Amon, 5  
 privy seal, 214 nn. 165, 166, 215  
 prophet of Amon, 207, 208, 209, 210  
 royal fan-bearer, 180

- royal messenger on every foreign country, 199  
 scribe, 183  
 scribe of recruits, 18, 61, 197, 198, 199 n. 107, 211  
 scribe of the army, 197, 198  
 scribe of the elite troops, 61 n. 121  
 scribe of the granary of pharaoh, 183  
 scribe of the ruler's table, 217  
 scribe who counts the cattle of Amon, 188, 194  
 scribe who counts the grain in the granary of the divine offerings of Amon, 183 n. 33  
 scribe who counts the grain in the granary of the pharaoh, 183, 213 n. 158  
 scribe who counts the grain of the lord of the Two Lands in Upper and Lower Egypt, 183  
 sealer of the double treasury, 188  
 second god's servant, 210  
 second prophet of Amon, 6, 209, 210  
 second prophet of Neith, 212  
 Sem in the house of Ptah, 210  
*sem*-priest, 8  
 singer of Amon, 119  
 singer of Hathor, 5  
 standard-bearer, 197  
 standard-bearer of the *Beloved of Amon*, 199  
 standard-bearer of the company of His Majesty, 199  
 steward in the house of the king's mother, 23  
 steward of Ahmose at Abydos, 199  
 steward of Akhetaten, 214  
 steward of Amon, 58, 190, 209  
 steward of Memphis, 65, 203, 214  
 steward of Montu in Armant, 188  
 steward of Peru-nefer, 38, 193 n. 81  
 steward of Queen Tiye, 16, 189, 217  
 steward of the dwellings of pharaoh, 173, 183  
 steward of the funerary temple of Amenhotep III, 210, 215, 220  
 steward of the king, 189, 214 n. 166



- steward of the palace, 218  
 steward of the palace at Malqata, 218  
 steward of the palace Gleaming is Ra, 216  
 steward of Thutmose III at Abydos, 199  
 steward of Thutmose IV at Abydos, 199  
 stewards. *See also* chief, high, great, and king's stewards  
 tracker of Amon, 204  
 treasurer, 58, 60, 183, 187, 188, 189, 190, 213 n. 158, 215 n. 167  
 treasury chief, 208  
 treasury overseer, 191  
 treasury scribe, 190  
 troop captain, 178  
 troop commander, 180  
 tutor, 9, 40  
 vassal prince, 180, 181, 225  
 vassal ruler, 20, 229, 236  
 viceroy of Kush, 11, 177, 178, 189, 262, 264 n. 174, 269  
 viceroy of Nubia, 61  
 viceroy of Southern Countries, 37  
 vizier, 5, 18, 38, 59, 60, 120, 122 n. 113, 175, 189, 194, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 209, 210, 211, 213, 214, 215, 220  
 vizier in the Southern City, 194

## Subject Index

- Aakheprure, prince (son of Amenhotep III), 39  
 Abusir, 47  
 Abydos, 47, 66, 89, 141, 199, 300  
 Adey, 6  
 administration: of Amenhotep II, 39, 61; cattle, 192, 215; cult, 180, 193, 195, 207; government/royal, 154, 173, 175, 177, 182, 184, 194, 196, 200; granary, 60, 175, 182–94; of Hatshepsut, 188; imperial, 180, 228, 229; of king's house, 182, 183, 212ff., military, 190, 197; Nubian, 178, 262, 264; of Thutmose IV, 58, 61  
 Aegean, 19, 229, 236–50  
 Ahhiyawans, 249  
 Ahmose, king, 60, 199  
 Ahmose, prince (brother of Thutmose IV), 39, 48, 49  
 Ahmose Humay (royal nurse), 38  
 Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV): and Amarna Letters, 225, 226, 243, 256; Amarna revolution of, 210, 212, 220, 221, 274–78, 307, 308, 310, 311; art and architecture of, 302; canopic jars of, 122; coregency with Amenhotep III, 23–25, 91ff., 134, 271–72, 298; family relationships of, 8, 9, 45; god of, 272, 281–82, 286, 288, 289, 291 (*see also* Aten); iconography of, 115, 285, 298–99; at Karnak, 90, 91; language, 306–7; mortuary temple at Amarna, 302; and Mycenaean trade, 247, 250; reforms of, 125–26, 133, 135, 140, 141, 142, 154, 171, 214, 260, 271–73, 275, 280, 283, 307; relationship to god, 289ff., Sed Festival of, 16, 92–93, 301; at Sesebi, 80, 91; at Soleb, 80, 90–91; stylistic innovations of, 298–99, 301ff., 308–9; temples of, 295–96, 297; tomb relief of, 303–6  
 Akhetaten, 92, 255, 272, 273  
 Akhmim, 5  
 Akkadian, 19, 180, 251, 258  
 Aksha, 241  
 Alalakh, 37, 232  
 Alašiya (Cyprus), 225, 241  
 Aldred, C., 23, 92  
 Alexander the Great, 19  
 Alexandria, 12, 46  
 Amada, 48  
 Amanhatpe (cuneiform for Amenhotep), 20  
 Amarna: Amenhotep III at, 291–92; as capital, 19, 23, 92, 106, 126, 195, 201, 214, 217, 250, 255, 272, 273, 285, 289, 302; cult of Aten at, 214; language, 307; objects from, 51, 88, 93, 107, 108, 110, 224, 225, 234, 249, 250, 273; palace at, 105; Period, 3, 45, 53, 94, 201, 232, 252, 271, 273, 275, 289, 290, 297, 306, 312; religion, 93, 141, 275ff., 287–88, 300–301; revolution, 210, 273, 274, 275ff., 293; royal tomb at, 9, 23; style in art, 83, 107, 109, 110, 204, 273, 275ff., 296, 297, 302, 308; Tiye at, 45, 90; tombs at, 305



Amarna Letters, 19, 23, 45, 52, 53, 99, 141, 180, 181, 201, 225, 226, 228, 229, 231, 241, 242, 243, 248, 252–59, 273  
 Amenemhab (Mahu, adjutant of the army), 199  
 Amenemheb (TT85), 38  
 Amenemhet, prince, 39, 208, 209, 212  
 Amenemipet, prince, 39, 59  
 Amenemipet (vizier), 38  
 Amenemope (adjutant of Kush during the reign of Tutankhamen) 178  
 Amenhotep II: buildings of, 27, 30, 33–34, 37, 72–73; campaigns of, 31, 33; coregency with Thutmose III, 28 n. 8, 31, 40; mortuary complex of, 72–73; mother of, 40, 44–45; relations with Hatti, 36; relations with Mitanni, 27, 33, 34, 36, 256, 257; Sed Festival of, 36–38; as sporting king, 13, 32, 33; temples of, 27; tomb of (KV 35), 44; wives of, 39, 40  
 Amenhotep III  
   age: at accession, 9; at death, 10  
   as Aten, 91, 92, 134  
   at Amarna, 92 n. 165, 292  
   building program, 64, 127, 132, 133, 219, 283–84, 302–3  
   Abydos, 66, 89, 150 n. 60  
   Al-Mahamid Qibly, 78  
   Aniba, 79, 150  
   Apis Bull tomb (*see* Amenhotep III, building program, Saqqara, Apis Bull tomb at)  
   Armant, 150 n. 60  
   Athribis, 64, 147, 150, 151  
   Bubastis, 64, 147, 150, 151  
   Denderah, 66, 150 n. 60  
   Elephantine, 78–79, 85, 150 n. 60  
   El-Kab, 78, 82, 150 n. 60 (*see also* Wadi Hellal)  
   Hebenu, 65, 85, 150 (*see also* Kom el-Ahmar)  
   Heliopolis, 85  
   Medinet Ghurab, 65

Memphis, 65  
 national aspects, 142, 143, 147–51, 171–72  
 Nebmaatra united with Ptah (temple), 65  
 Quban, 79, 150  
 Sai, 79  
 Saqqara, 65; Apis Bull tomb at, 82–83  
 Sedeinga, 79, 90, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153, 264  
 Soleb, 79, 80, 83, 89, 90, 128, 147–48, 150, 151, 153, 240–41, 264  
 Thebes, 66ff., 68ff., 143, 150, 151, 152, 154, 155, 172, 155–56, 164–65, 166, 168, 169, 170; bark of Amon-Ra, 156, 157, 163, 164, 165, 169 (*see also* bark); funerary/memorial/mortuary temple, 7, 70, 71–76, 82, 83, 85, 89, 90 n. 148, 128, 143, 156, 159–60, 163, 172, 220, 236–37, 292, 295, 302 (*see also* Kom el-Hetan); Karnak, 70, 127, 156, 167, 241; Karnak, colonnade, 157; Karnak, Fifth Pylon, 69, 85; Karnak, palace, 158–59, 161, 166–67, 168, 171, 214, 217; Karnak, solar shrine, 295; Karnak, storehouse of Amon, 85; Karnak, Tenth Pylon, 69–70, 157; Karnak, Third Pylon, 69, 81, 95, 157, 163, 165; Khaemmaat (temple), 70–71, 81–82, 89, 157, 158, 159, 163, 165, 295; Khonsu (temple), 74, 82, 83, 146, 150, 151, 156, 157, 158, 159, 166, 167, 168; Kom el-Abd, 77–78; Kom el-Samak, 77; Luxor (temple), 67–68, 80ff., 89, 91, 127, 128, 143, 156, 159, 163, 165, 168, 292; Maat (temple), 70–71, 82, 157, 158, 159; Malqata palace, 8, 14, 15, 16, 22, 75–76, 77, 93, 95, 105, 106, 108, 154,

156, 160–62, 166, 168, 172, 216, 218, 230, 299, 303, 305; Maru Amun, 68, 154, 163, 165, 285, 295; Mut (temple), 70, 89, 156; tomb (KV 22), 71, 85, 118  
 campaigns, 10, 22, 126, 175–77, 265–68, 269–70  
 colossi, 2, 89, 116, 160, 165, 219, 220, 237, 241, 293, 294, 295  
 coregency with Akhenaten, 23–25, 91ff., 134, 271–72, 298  
 daughters, 7, 21  
 “Dazzling Aten,” name (*see* Amenhotep III, “Dazzling Sun Disk,” name)  
 “Dazzling Sun Disk,” name (also “Dazzling Aten,” “Shining Sun Disk,” and “Gleaming is Ra”), 1, 3, 14, 22, 75, 88, 90, 158, 166, 168, 216–17, 220, 291, 292, 294, 298  
 divinity, 7, 87–88, 89, 90–92, 93, 94, 134, 213, 284, 290–91, 292, 300  
 empire, 1, 14  
 funerary temple stela. (*see* Amenhotep III, stela, funerary temple)  
 “Gleaming is Ra,” name. (*see* Amenhotep III, “Dazzling Sun Disk,” name)  
 iconography, 86  
 language, 306ff.  
 marriage to foreign princesses, 225–26, 248, 250, 254–56, 257–59  
 mother, 45  
 obelisks, 71  
 objects: Aegean, 246–48; Asian, 231ff.  
 painting, 302–6  
 physical prowess, 12, 13, 130  
 relief, 80ff., 81, 91–92, 100, 303–5  
 sarcophagus, 71  
 scarabs (*see* scarabs)  
 sculpture (style), 80, 85 n. 129, 100  
 Sed Festival (*see* Sed Festival)  
 Sekhmet statues, 70

“Shining Sun Disk,” name (*see* Amenhotep III, “Dazzling Sun Disk,” name)  
 solar aspects, 1, 3, 86–87, 88, 89–90, 91, 92, 134, 142, 147–48, 290–92, 300  
 sons, 8–9  
 statuary programs, 18, 74–75, 79–80, 89  
 stela, funerary temple (“building stela,” Cairo CG34025), 67 n. 21, 68, 72, 73, 74–75, 162, 163, 165, 166, 167, 172, 284ff.  
 style, artistic, 289–99 (*see also* Amenhotep III, painting; relief; sculpture)  
 temple design, 295  
 titulary, 1–3  
 treaties, 126, 225, 236, 243, 248–50  
 wife (*see* Tiye, Queen)  
 Amenhotep IV. *See* Akhenaten  
 Amenhotep (son of Hapu), 18, 70, 116, 197, 198, 205, 219, 220, 221, 300  
 Amenmose, prince, 39, 190, 191  
 Amnisos, 238, 245  
 Amon-Ra: art and architecture for, 29, 30, 51, 66, 68, 127, 155–59, 161–67, 241, 242, 266, 272, 284, 292, 296; cult of, 30, 133, 135, 137–39, 141, 143, 153–55, 157, 165, 169, 171, 172; in kingship, 30, 31, 132, 150, 153, 162, 165, 169, 267; myths of, 138–40, 150, 158, 159, 162, 169–70; in texts, 4, 30, 148, 167, 277, 285; in titulary, 42. *See also* Ra; sun god  
 amulets, 18, 101, 112  
 Amurru, 181, 226, 227  
 Anatolia, 3, 13, 236, 241–50  
 Anen (brother of Queen Tiye), 6, 116, 210, 239  
 Aniba, 79, 150  
 Ankhesenamen, princess, 250  
 Ankhtowy (Memphis), 213  
 Anubis, 68, 71, 120, 218



- Aperia, 202  
 Apis bull, 8  
 Arame, 240  
 Arapkha, 37  
 Arban, 232  
 Armant, 55, 78, 188  
 Artassumara, 257  
 Artatama I, king, 3, 52, 53, 54, 226, 252, 257  
 Artatama II, prince, 260  
 Arzawa, 13, 20, 225, 226, 240-42, 248-50  
 Asasif, 305  
 Asia, 3, 22, 36, 41, 48, 54, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 192, 195, 225, 229, 231, 238, 240  
 Assmann, J., 131, 134-42, 154, 171, 281, 312  
 Assur, 48, 245  
 Assyria, 19, 21, 54, 224, 225, 242, 251, 252  
 Aswan, 57, 78, 85, 195, 265  
 Atbara, 11, 263  
 Aten, 75, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 134, 214, 217, 272, 279, 281, 283, 287, 291, 292, 293, 297, 298, 301  
 Aten-tjehen, 3 n. 5  
 Athribis, 142, 147, 150, 151, 218  
 Atum: art and architecture of, 46, 48, 49; myths of, 144-45; in text, 42, 43, 87; in titulary, 28, 42, 54  
 Atum-Ra, 92, 144, 159  
 Ay, 50, 73, 76, 83, 84  
 Ayia Triadha, 246  
 Ayios Elias, 246  
 Aziru, 181  
 Babylon, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 33, 34, 37, 54, 244, 248, 249, 251, 252, 253, 255  
 Baines, J., 128, 134, 142, 165, 171, 271  
 Baki, 79, 194  
 bark: of the king, 86-88, 217-18, 291; of the sun god, 14, 55, 86, 88, 157, 160, 164, 169, 186; sacred, 156, 169  
 bark shrines: alabaster shrine of Thutmose IV, 47, 51, 68; bark chapel of Thutmose IV (*see* El-Kab); at Karnak, 30, 47, 82. *See also* Elephantine; Khaemmaat; Quban  
 Barramiyah, 56  
 Bastet, 147  
 Bayuda Desert, 263  
 Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 30, 114, 150, 156-58, 163, 164, 168-71  
 Bedja, 199  
 beds, 95, 101, 255, 256  
 Bell, L., 9, 131  
 Beqa' Valley, Lebanon, 227, 229  
 Berlin, 5, 47, 80, 91, 116  
 Berman, L., 1, 121  
 Bernal, M., 244  
 Bersha, 10, 64, 66  
 Bes, 95, 98, 103, 111, 117, 304  
 Beth Shan, 229  
 Beth Shemesh, 235  
 Bir Beiza, 56  
 Biridiya, 226  
 Birket Habu, 75, 77, 299  
 Boeotian Thebes, 238  
 Book of the Dead, 278  
 Book of the Divine Cow, 98  
 Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 74  
 boxes, wooden, 100, 256  
 box of Kha, 106, 119  
 Britain, 149  
 British Museum, 75, 80, 107-10, 113, 117, 121, 220, 233, 282  
 Brooklyn Museum of Art, 99, 101, 115  
 Bryan, B., 27, 78, 82, 114, 142, 143, 147-49, 152, 153, 160, 171  
 Bubasteion, 63  
 Bubastis, 10 n. 52, 16, 64, 142, 147, 150, 151, 227, 268  
 Buhen, 10 n. 52, 48  
 built forms, 129, 131, 142, 148, 149, 172  
 Burnaburiash II, 99  
 Butana, 11  
 Cairo, 2, 10, 12, 15  
 Cairo Museum, 5, 7, 8, 12 n. 57, 17,

- 25, 73, 76, 116, 256, 279, 281, 293  
 campaigns: building, 49, 67, 71, 142, 171; military, 3, 10-12, 22, 27, 31-33, 36, 38, 39, 41, 53, 54, 57, 125, 126, 138, 189, 195-98, 201, 216, 223, 251, 252, 264-69, 299  
 Campbell, E.F., Jr., 53  
 canopic chest, 122  
 canopic jars, 44, 118, 121  
 capital (site), 15, 126, 130, 136, 149, 154, 180, 194, 195, 201, 214, 250, 255, 262, 272, 275, 285, 289, 293, 297  
 Carnarvon, Lord, 105  
 Carter, H., 105  
 caryatid vessel, 99  
 cattle, 43, 56, 182, 192, 194, 195, 196, 207, 215, 228, 269, 270  
 celestial cycle, 151, 153, 157  
 celestial realm, 98, 145, 146, 162, 164, 166, 167, 171  
 chairs, 95, 256  
 Chaco Canyon, New Mexico, 149  
 Chephren, 43, 49  
 Chinese curse, 125  
 Christianity, 280  
 Cleveland Museum of Art, 63, 113  
 Cline, E., 223, 236  
 coffins, 118; of Amenhotep III, 24; of Aper-El, 120; of Henutwedjeben, 113, 114, 119-20; of Kha, 118; of Merymose, 121; of Meryt, 119  
 colossal statues, 7, 47, 65, 67, 70, 72-75, 89, 116, 160, 165, 215, 219, 220, 241, 242, 284, 293, 294, 297; of Pinudjem I, 16  
 Colossi of Memnon, 1, 2, 5, 7, 72, 237, 293, 294, 295  
 Cooney, J.D., 110  
 correspondence, 19, 225, 252, 253, 255, 256  
 cosmic process, 129, 134, 140, 143-48, 151, 157, 172  
 cosmogony 128, 136, 143-47, 168  
 cosmograms: built forms, 148; city, 302; country, 148; Egypt, 148; Nubia, 295; stela, 162-64, 167; Thebes, 163, 164, 167, 169-70, 172, 295  
 cosmos, 93, 129, 135, 136, 137, 138, 140-46, 149, 152-54, 159, 162-66, 169, 170, 285, 289, 293, 295, 302  
 court: royal, 19, 34, 37, 38, 39, 41, 44, 45, 50, 58, 59, 61, 86, 93, 105, 118, 134, 161, 173, 182, 189, 212, 216, 225, 241, 254, 256, 261, 296; "vizier's court," 60, 200  
 Crete, 238, 239, 245, 246, 247, 248  
 Crocodilopolis, 47  
 Cuzco, 149  
 Cycladic, 239  
 Cyprus, 225, 229, 232, 235, 241, 242, 247  
 Dahshur, 112  
 Daressy, G., 76  
 Darius, 19  
 Davis, Theodore M., 5  
 Decker, W., 32  
 decorum, 141, 286, 296, 308  
 Delta, 18, 24, 46, 64, 142, 147, 192, 212, 218, 233  
 Dendera, 47, 66  
 Der, 261  
 Didu (chief of the Medjay), 199, 200  
 Diodorus Siculus, 19  
 divinity of kingship, 28ff.; divine birth of king, 27-32. *See also* kingship, divine aspects of  
 Djarukha, 13  
 Djehuty (director of the treasury during the coregency of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut), 187, 188  
 Djoser, king, 75  
 dogma, 280, 288, 309, 310; dogmatic form, 272; dogmatic names, 272, 276, 281, 286, 289, 291; dogmatism of Akhenaten, 280-81



- Dongola, 297  
 drinking vessel, 105  
 Duamutef, 121  
 Durham University, 99  
*Duties of the Vizier* (text), 200, 201, 214  
 earth, 132, 135, 137, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146, 152, 153, 159, 162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 176, 288, 289, 292, 293  
 economic aspects: of religious institutions, 126, 206; of the state, 182, 212, 215, 236  
 economic crisis, 175  
 economic expansion, 48  
 economy, 3, 61, 131, 193; private, 195, 196  
 Edel, E., 237, 239, 241, 246  
 Edfu, 48, 55, 56, 57  
 Egypt Exploration Society, 63  
 Egyptian blue, 101, 104  
 Elam, 261  
 Elder Lady, 24  
 Elephantine, 48, 78, 284  
 El-Kab, 2, 48, 78, 82, 150 n. 60  
 Ennead, 42  
 equinox, 151, 170  
 estate of Amon, 186ff.  
 Ethiopia, 263  
 Euphrates, 19, 196, 250, 251  
 explicit theology, 135–38  
 Faras, 48  
 Fayum, 23, 47, 59, 60, 65, 195  
 Feast of Opet. *See* Opet Festival  
 Festival of the Valley. *See* Beautiful Feast of the Valley  
 Fitzwilliam Museum, 104  
 Florence Archaeological Museum, 116  
 Fosse Temple, 235  
 Frankfort, H., 277  
 French Archaeological Mission, 63  
 furniture, 21, 95, 256  
 Galilee, 227  
 Gaza, 180, 227, 229, 230, 234  
 Geb, 43, 97, 115, 144  
 Gebel Ahmar, 2, 215  
 Gebel Barkal, 48, 80, 297  
 Gebel Silsila, 205  
 Gebelein, 60  
 Gezer, 27, 54, 223, 226, 233, 235  
 Gezireh, 263, 268  
 Gilukhepa, 13, 14, 15, 20, 22, 226, 257, 258  
 Giza, 32, 39, 41, 43, 44, 49, 50, 51, 301  
 glass, 96, 101, 104–11, 115, 119, 120, 123, 228, 230; vessels, 105–10; workshop, 106  
 Gold House, 214  
 granaries, 155, 185, 207, 234  
 granary: administration, 60, 175, 182–94; of Karnak, 47, 51  
 Great Green (Mediterranean Sea), 191, 239  
 Great Hymn, 279, 283, 287  
 Gundlach, R., 131, 132, 133, 141  
 Habiru, 53  
 “hair curler,” 101–2  
 Hapu, son of (Amenhotep). *See* Amenhotep (son of Hapu)  
 Hapuseneb (high priest of Amon during coregency of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut), 203  
 Harendotes, 32  
 Harkhuf, 56  
 Hathor: in art and architecture, 48, 68, 71, 78, 111, 300; attributes of, 6; and cosmetic spoons, 97, 98; Deir el-Bahri complex of, 155, 156, 163, 164, 166, 168, 169, 170; menats, 100; Nefertiry as, 7, 45; Nefertiti as, 45; in Nubia, 179; Queen Tiye as, 6, 90, 100, 304; as royal consort, 86, 155, 170, 304; temples of, at Dendera, 66; at Gebelein, 60; at Serabit el-Khadim, 234  
 Hatiay, wood pectoral of, 113  
 Hatshepsut: coregency with Thutmose III, 27, 125, 133, 138, 274;

- coronation of, 28–29; funerary temple of, 127, 128, 155, 292; Karnak constructions of, 29–30; Luxor Temple, 67, 155; obelisks of, 29; relationship to Amon, 132, 141, 208; as ruler, 5, 40, 45, 188, 193; temple of, with Thutmose III, 27, 66, 76, 127, 155, 168; as wife of Thutmose II, 39, 50  
 Hatti, 33, 34, 36, 37, 224, 225, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 249, 252  
 Hattusas, 242  
 heaven, 88, 144–46, 152, 162–68  
 Hebenu, 65, 85, 150, 284  
 Heby (mayor of Memphis), 194–95, 203, 204, 205, 210, 213  
 Heka, 42  
 Heket, 101  
 Helck, W., 59  
 Heliopolis, 2, 37, 42, 43, 46, 49, 50, 65, 85, 136, 150, 210, 215, 284, 301  
 Henuttaneb, princess, 7  
 Hepu, 59  
 Heqareshu (nurse of the royal children), 9, 40, 41  
 Heqarneheh (son of Heqareshu), 8, 9, 41  
 Hermopolis, 47, 65, 85, 150, 218, 284  
 Herodotus, 19  
 Highclere, 105  
 Hikuptah, 213  
 Hittites, 3, 36, 126, 225, 236, 242, 243, 248, 249, 252  
 Hor, 215, 279, 282, 283, 287  
 Horakhty, 42, 46, 49, 88, 90, 91, 92, 144, 146, 148, 159. *See also* Ra-Horakhty  
 Horemakhet, 28, 42, 43, 49, 50  
 Horemhab (military scribe), 58, 211  
 Horemheb, king: architecture of, 241, 304; coronation inscriptions of, 57; mortuary temple of, 73, 76; reform decree of, 192  
 Horus: in concept and titulary of kingship, 1, 2, 11, 17, 32, 42, 54, 55, 61, 70, 132, 137, 144; myths of, 2, 80, 145–50; in Nubia, 179, 266; in ornament, 47, 115, 120; temples to, at Aniba, 79, 150; temples to, at Hebenu, 65, 284  
 Houwink Ten Cate, P., 36  
 Hu, 194  
 Huwa, 268  
 Huy (secretary of Mermose), 178  
 Huy (son of Aper-El), 120, 202  
 Huy (viceroys of Tutankhamen), 34  
 Huy (vizier of Amenhotep III), 201, 205, 213  
 Hyksos, 175  
 hymns, 276–87  
 Hyslop, 149  
 Ialysos, 246  
 Iaret (sister/wife of Thutmose IV), 45, 57  
 Ibhet, 11, 269, 270  
 iconography, 37, 51, 71, 81, 84, 85, 86, 94, 97, 109, 111, 244, 277, 282, 286, 289, 290, 291, 293, 298, 299, 308  
 ideology, 19, 41, 128, 129, 134, 141, 152, 175, 288, 302  
 Ikheny (Nubian ruler), 11, 265, 266, 267  
 Ilios, 238, 246  
 Imhotep (overseer of double treasury), 185, 189  
 Immureya (cuneiform of Nebmaatra), 20  
 imperial government, 177ff., 177–81  
 implicit theology, 135, 153  
 Imsety, 121  
 Ineny (mayor of Thebes), 193  
 Inka, 149  
 inlay, 105  
 Ipet Resyet (Luxor Temple), 66  
 Ipet Swt (Karnak Temple), 66  
 Ipuky (TT 181), 115  
 Ipy (steward), 204, 214  
 Irem, 266, 267, 268  
 Ishtar, 21, 22, 259



Isis, 7, 39, 44, 45, 87, 98, 114, 120, 121  
 Itchu (treasurer), 188  
 Iunet, 68  
 Iuny (treasury scribe), 190  
  
 Jaffa, 229  
 Japanese Mission, 63, 76  
 Jerusalem, 226  
 jewelry, 6, 100, 105, 110-18, 123, 257  
 Jezreel Valley, 229  
 Johnson, R., 23, 51, 63, 117, 131, 133, 134, 163  
 jubilee. *See* Sed Festival  
  
 Kadesh, 176, 227  
 Karnak: open air museum at, 47; temples of, 16, 29, 30-37, 40, 44, 47, 50, 51, 53, 55, 61, 62, 66-70, 73-75, 81, 82, 85, 90, 91, 127, 128, 148, 155-59, 161, 163, 165-70, 188, 193, 211, 219, 234, 272, 273, 277, 284, 289, 294-96, 297, 301, 302, 304; topographical list of, 241-43  
 Karoy, 14, 266, 268  
 Kawa, 297, 298  
 Keftiu, 238, 239, 240, 242  
 Keshy (tracker of Amon), 204  
 Kha (overseer of works), 105, 106, 108, 118, 119  
 Khabur River, 232  
 Khaemmaat, 70, 79, 157, 158, 159, 163, 165, 167, 168, 295  
 Khaemwast, prince, 39  
 Khaemwast (overseer of all northern foreign lands), 218, 227  
 Khania, 246  
 Khartoum, 11, 268  
 Kharu (Syria), 230  
 Khebwynenes (wife of Khaemwast, overseer), 227  
 Khenty-khety, 147  
 Khepri, 42, 43  
 Kheruef (steward of Queen Tiye, TT 192), 17, 86, 87, 90, 115, 117, 189, 217, 218, 300, 301, 303, 304  
 Khnum, 11, 78, 85, 284

Khonsu, 74, 82, 83, 146, 150, 151, 156, 157, 158, 159, 166, 167, 168  
 Khufu, 49  
 kingship: Amon-Ra and, 150, 154, 156, 159, 169; building and, 27, 148, 289, 290, 299; ceremonies/rituals of, 136, 139, 159, 299; change in, from reign of Amenhotep III to Akhenaten, 133, 281, 288, 289, 309; divine aspects of, 28, 36, 50, 51, 52, 131-33, 139, 146, 156, 159, 169, 288, 290; public aspects of, 293, 295, 299; Sed Festival and, 128, 132, 300; solar aspects of, 61, 290, 292; in text, 4, 28, 41, 42, 43, 54  
 Kitchen, K., 223, 250  
 Kiya (wife of Akhenaten), 9, 122, 293  
 Knossos, 238, 246, 249  
 kohl, 95, 96, 105, 108-11, 233  
 Kom el-Ahmar, 65  
 Kom el-Hetan, 16, 71, 236, 239, 241, 242, 245, 246  
 Kom Medinet Ghurab, 23, 106  
 Konosso (stela), 48, 54, 56, 57, 61, 265, 266  
 Kozloff, A., 95, 142  
 Kuhn, T.S., 311  
 Kumidi, 180, 227, 229, 232  
 Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 114  
 Kurgus, 176  
 Kurigalzu I (ruler of Babylon), 226, 253, 254, 261  
 Kurtiwaza, prince (son of Tušratta), 260  
 Kush, 10, 11, 35, 167, 176, 177, 178, 179, 195, 240, 262, 264, 265, 266, 267, 269  
 Kydonia, 238, 246  
 Kythera, 238  
  
 Labayu of Shechem, 226  
 Lachish, 233, 235  
 Lateran (square), 47

Leiden, 279, 285  
 Letellier, B., 51  
 Letopolis, 50  
 Levant, 27, 126, 167, 223, 224, 225, 228-36, 273  
 linear progress, 274  
 Liverani, M., 34  
 logic, 142, 179  
 Lorton, D., 34  
 Louvre Museum, Paris, 8, 103, 113, 114, 116  
 lunar eye, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153  
 Luxor: modern city, 66, 236; Museum, 78; temple of, 1, 3, 4, 9, 29, 45, 47, 53, 54, 63, 66, 67-71, 80-84, 89-91, 117, 127, 128, 143, 155-59, 163-65, 168-70, 211, 282, 284, 286, 292, 293, 300, 302, 304  
 Lyktos, 238  
  
 Maanakhtef (king's chief steward under Amenhotep II), 184  
 Maat, 82, 136, 137, 157, 158, 159, 163, 168, 204  
 Mahu (Amenemhab), 199  
 Maiherperi (Nubian, child of the inner palace), 216  
 Malqata, 8, 14, 15, 16, 22, 75, 76, 77, 88, 95, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 154, 156, 160, 161, 166, 168, 169, 170, 172, 187, 194, 216, 218, 230, 234, 299, 303, 305  
 Manana, statue of, 114  
 Mansions of Eternity, 106  
 Martin, G.T., 9  
 May (commander of the chariotry), 204  
 May (scribe), 17  
 Maya (overseer of the treasury), 24, 122  
 Medamud, 47  
 Medinet Habu, 7, 67, 73, 76, 155, 294  
 Medjay, 199, 200, 217  
 Megiddo, 34, 226, 251  
 Meidum, 193

Memphis, 8, 15, 34, 36, 43, 47, 50, 61, 63, 65, 98, 99, 126, 133, 136, 143, 150, 154, 186, 193, 194, 201, 202, 203, 205, 210, 213, 214, 215, 225, 272, 285, 289, 299, 302, 305  
 Men (overseer of works in the Red Mountain), 215  
 menat, 100  
 Menena (wife of Khaemwast, overseer), 227  
 Menkheper, prince, 39  
 Menkheperresonb (first prophet of Amon), 208  
 Menkheperresonb (overseer of the double granary), 185  
 Menkheprura (Thutmose IV), 4  
 Menna, tomb of, 114  
 Menthu, 11  
 Menu, B., 158, 159  
 Meriptah (high priest of Amon), 209  
 Meriptah (high priest of the Theban cult of Ptah), 210, 211, 215; (overseer of the house of gold), 220  
 Merire (chief steward of the king under Thutmose IV), 58  
 Mermose (treasurer), 189  
 Mermose (viceroy of Kush), 11, 121, 178, 189, 190, 269  
 Merneptah, 46  
 Meroe, 11, 179  
 Merrillees, R.S., 244  
 Mery (soldier), 60, 61  
 Meryamun (state barge), 61  
 Meryre (privy seal), 215  
 Meryt-Re (mother of Amenhotep II), 39, 40, 41, 44, 45  
 Meryt-Re (wife of Kha), 105, 119  
 Merytaten, 9, 122  
 Mesopotamia, 3, 225, 250  
 Methana, 238  
 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 5, 16, 76, 98, 260  
 military, 3, 10, 22, 27, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 48, 53, 54, 57, 58, 61, 125, 126, 129, 138, 178,



military (*continued*)  
 179, 180, 181, 186, 190, 196,  
 197, 198, 201, 204, 207, 218,  
 219, 223, 224, 227, 228, 230,  
 231, 236, 244, 251, 260, 262,  
 263, 264, 267, 268, 269, 270, 299  
 Mimmareya, 20  
 Min, 5, 60  
 Minemheb, scribe statue of, 116  
 Minoans, 238, 245, 248  
 Minya, 65  
 Mitanni, 3, 13, 20, 21, 23, 27, 33, 34, 36,  
 52, 53, 54, 176, 179, 223–26,  
 240–45, 248, 249, 251, 252, 256,  
 257, 259, 260  
 Montu, 47, 55, 70, 89, 116, 117, 188  
 moral system, 137, 138  
 Moran, W.L., 22, 260  
 Moses, 135  
 motivation, 40, 140, 273, 308, 309  
 motives, 308  
 Murnane, W.J., 173  
 Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire,  
 Brussels, 15 n. 72  
 Mutemwia (mother of Amenhotep III), 3,  
 4, 6, 45, 72, 293  
 Mutnofret (mother of Thutmose II), 39  
 Muttuy (daughter of Sennefer), 39  
 Mycenae, 19, 111, 238, 244, 246, 247,  
 248, 249, 250  
 Mycenaean, 238, 245, 248; and trade,  
 247, 249  
 Naharin, 14, 37, 53, 54, 223, 252, 257  
 Nakhtmin (overseer of the double  
 granary), 185  
 Napatan, 79  
 Napoleon Bonaparte, 78, 79  
 Nauplion, 238  
 Nebamun (standard bearer of the *Be-  
 loved of Amon*), 53, 199  
 Nebamun (TT 181), 115  
 Nebetah, princess, 7  
 Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, 90  
 Nebmaatra, 3, 11, 14, 17, 20, 65, 66, 70,  
 80, 116, 158, 166, 168, 179, 197,  
 292

Nebmerutef (lector priest), 218  
 Nebmerutef (scribe), 18, 116  
 Nebnefer (chief grain measurer), 190,  
 209  
 Nebnefer (temple official), 15  
 Nedjem, prince 39  
 Neferhotep, king, stela of, 300  
 Neferronpet, scribe statue of, 116  
 Neferssekheru (steward of the royal resi-  
 dence), 217, 218  
 Nefertiry, queen, 7, 45, 47  
 Nefertiti, queen, 5, 7, 45, 92, 103, 204,  
 217, 250, 293, 297  
 Nehasyu, 265, 270  
 Nehesy, 55, 56  
 Neith, 121, 212  
 Nekhbet, 2, 45, 55, 78, 82, 119  
 Nephthys, 87, 120, 121  
 Neusera, 16  
 new solar theology/religion, 135, 139–  
 40, 154, 170–71, 172, 278–83,  
 287, 306, 309  
 Nibmuareya, 20  
 Nimmureya, 20  
 Nineveh, 21, 259, 260  
 Nubia, 261–70; Egyptian expeditions in,  
 27, 56, 126, 137, 175–76; Egyp-  
 tian officials in, 61, 121; Egyp-  
 tian presence in, 148–51, 154, 172,  
 175, 177–79, 181, 192, 228;  
 temples in, 46, 48, 64, 79, 83, 90,  
 128, 142, 147, 153, 205, 219,  
 240, 242, 284, 295  
 Nuhasse, 54  
 Nut, 42, 71, 97, 98, 119, 120, 121, 144  
 O'Connor, D., 125, 223, 261, 284  
 ointment jar, 95, 103  
 Opet Festival, 15, 30, 66, 139, 150, 156–  
 59, 163, 164, 169, 170, 171  
 oracle, 28, 57, 132, 133, 259  
 Oriental Institute, Epigraphic Survey, 63  
 orientation, architectural systems of, 71,  
 161, 168, 294  
 Orontes River, 227, 252  
 Osiris, 71, 86, 97, 114, 119, 120, 132,  
 136, 137, 145–48; Ptah-Sokar-

Osiris temple of Amenhotep III,  
 72, 83, 160, 285; temple pre-  
 cinct at Abydos, 66, 89, 300  
 Osorkon III, king, 16  
 Palaepaphos-Skales (Cyprus), 235  
 Palestine, 19, 54, 176, 223–36, 239,  
 247, 248, 297  
 palette, Early Dynastic, 17  
 palm columns, 108, 109–10  
 Panaztepe, 246  
 Panopolis, 5  
 Paser (mayor of Fayum), 60  
 Pawah (scribe who counts the grain of  
 the lord of the Two Lands in  
 Upper and Lower Egypt), 183,  
 184  
 Penhet (overseer of all northern foreign  
 lands), 228  
 personal piety, 18, 133  
 Petra, 235  
 Petrie Museum, University College, 102  
 Petrie, W.F., 65, 66, 72, 102  
 Phaistos, 238, 246  
 pilgrims: to Giza, 17, 50; to Thebes,  
 130, 139, 171  
 Plain of Sharon, 252  
 pluralism, 280, 282, 283, 286, 305,  
 307  
 police, 24, 57, 61, 199, 200, 204, 217,  
 264  
 pottery, 15, 95, 108, 111, 121, 192,  
 232, 234, 250  
 princes: Egyptian, 8, 10, 28, 39, 40, 41,  
 43, 44, 45, 48, 60, 83, 85, 114,  
 201, 211; foreign, 177, 178,  
 180, 181, 216, 225, 226, 237,  
 238, 250  
 princesses: Egyptian, 7, 18, 40, 95,  
 105, 112, 114, 256; foreign, 4,  
 13, 20, 21, 226, 254, 258–60  
 private economy. *See* economy, private  
 processional festivals, 130, 136, 138,  
 139, 141, 153, 155, 157, 171,  
 209; routes, 72, 74, 156, 157,  
 160, 161, 295  
 provinces: Egyptian, 184; northern, 54,

180, 192; Nubian, 261–70  
 provincial administration, 193–95  
 Ptah: Amenhotep III as, 75, 90; art and  
 architecture of, 65, 213, 284;  
 cult of, 8, 42, 98, 116, 210,  
 211, 213, 215, 284; Ptah-Sokar-  
 Osiris temple, 72, 83, 160, 285;  
 in royal names, 65  
 Ptahhotep (vizier), 59  
 Ptahmose (high priest of Ptah), 116,  
 122, 210, 211  
 Ptahmose (mayor of Thebes, visier),  
 194, 202, 203, 209  
 Ptahmose (overseer of treasury), 60  
 Ptahmose (privy seal), 215  
 Pudukhepa, 254  
 Punt, 4, 167, 191, 263  
 Pushkin Museum, Moscow, 97  
 Qatna, 53, 223  
 Qebhsenuuf, 121  
 Quban, 79, 150  
 Ra: cult of, 48, 86, 162, 210; in king-  
 ship, 49, 61, 86, 290; in names,  
 2, 3, 43, 73, 88, 216; in text, 4,  
 12, 42, 43, 55, 56; in titulary, 2,  
 3, 11, 17, 31, 287, 290; myths  
 of, 7, 136, 137, 144–48, 150,  
 155, 159, 261. *See also* Amon-  
 Ra  
 radical changes of Akhenaten, 126,  
 133, 135, 140, 154, 272, 275ff.,  
 306, 307, 310, 311. *See also*  
 Akhenaten; Amarna; revolution,  
 changes under Akhenaten  
 defined as  
 Ra-Horakhty, 42, 46, 49, 88, 90, 91,  
 92, 144, 146, 148, 159, 162  
 Ramesseum, 73  
 Ramose (vizier, TT 55), 59, 195, 203,  
 204, 205, 209, 211, 213, 303,  
 304, 305  
 Ramses II: monuments of, 1, 7, 16, 47,  
 65, 67, 68, 78, 179, 231, 234,  
 241; reign of, 90, 107, 126, 250,  
 254, 261; Sed Festival of, 16



- Ramses III: coffin of, 24; monuments of, 65, 67, 73, 158  
 Ramses IV, 74, 107  
 Ras Shamra (Syria), 12  
 Red Sea, 263, 269  
 Redford, D., 36, 131, 132  
 reform, 133, 192, 283, 301, 307  
 Rekhmire (vizier), 59  
 Rennutet, 42  
 restricted knowledge, 278, 283, 287–88, 296, 297  
 revelation, 287  
 reversal, 293, 308  
 revolution: changes under Akhenaten defined as, 210, 212, 271, 275, 307–8, 310, 311; precursors to, under Amenhotep III, 220, 275, 276, 311  
 Rhodes, 246  
 Rizeiqat, 190, 284  
 royal estate, 182, 183, 186, 192, 198, 200, 212ff.
- Sahure, sculpture of, 47  
 Saint Phoebammon, 78  
 Sakhmet, 42, 56  
 Samut, 56  
 Sandfarers, 198  
 Sangar (Babylon), 240, 241, 243  
 Saqqara, 5, 8, 47, 63, 65, 113, 120  
 sarcophagus, 8, 71, 118, 120, 121  
 scarabs: commemorative, 13, 234, 291, 293; found in Aegean area, 246–47; in jewelry, 113–15; marriage scarabs, 232–35  
 seasonal cycle, 151, 153  
 secrecy, 283, 286, 287  
 Sed Festival, 15, 16, 32, 70, 72, 128, 160, 169, 219, 300; art and architecture of, 16, 31, 33, 36, 40, 44, 50, 51, 61, 70, 75, 77, 80, 83, 87, 89, 160, 161, 205, 300, 301, 304; of Akhenaten, 16, 92–93, 301; of Amenhotep II, 37, 38; of Amenhotep III, 15–18, 75–77, 86–88, 90–93, 128, 132, 134, 143, 161, 169, 173, 187, 190–92, 203–5, 211, 213, 215, 217, 218, 255, 299; of Ramses II, 16  
 Sedeinga, 6, 79, 90, 100, 142, 148, 150, 151, 153, 264, 284, 295, 298  
 Sekhmet, 70, 75, 89, 98, 213  
 Sellopoulo, 246, 247  
 Semna, 11, 37, 179  
 Senmut (chief steward of Hatshepsut), 58  
 Sennefer (mayor of Thebes), 38, 39, 193, 194  
 Senwosret III, king, cult of, 179  
 Serapeum, 8  
 Seriakus, 46, 49  
 Sesebi, 80, 91, 109, 110, 179  
 Setau (second prophet of Neith), 212  
 Seth, 42, 56, 145, 147, 150  
 Seti I, 195, 234  
 Several, M., 43, 48  
 shabtis, 118, 122–23  
 shebyu collars, 86–87, 114, 117  
 Shendi, 11  
 Shetep, 12  
 Shu, 91, 92, 144  
 Siamun, 39  
 Sidon, 53, 54  
 Siese, 198  
 Simut (second prophet of Amon), 209, 210  
 Sinai, 57, 191, 230, 231, 233, 234  
 Sitamen, princess, 7, 95, 104  
 Smenkhkare, 243  
 Sneferu, 17  
 Sobekhotep (mayor of Fayum), 59–61  
 Sobekhotep (Panhesy, overseer of the treasury), 190–92  
 Sobekhotep (treasurer), 58  
 Sobekmose (chief of the treasury), 190  
 Sobeknakht (steward of Amon), 190, 209  
 Sohag, 5  
 Sokar, 42, 72, 83, 152, 158, 160, 285  
 Solar Disk, 272  
 solar eye, 143, 146, 147, 148, 150, 151, 153, 167, 281

- solar hymns, 277–79, 287  
 solar religion, 132–33, 135, 142, 277–83, 287, 306, 309  
 solar theology, 133, 135, 139, 140, 154, 170, 171, 172  
 Soleb, 7, 12, 16, 18, 79, 80, 83, 89, 90, 91, 109, 128, 142, 148, 150, 151, 153, 179, 205, 240, 241, 242, 264, 284, 294, 295, 298  
 solstice, 151, 152, 167, 168, 170, 171  
 spoons, cosmetic, 96–100, 111, 123  
 St. Louis, 119  
 state treasury. *See* treasury, state  
 stone vessels, 105  
 Sudan, 1, 6, 10, 12, 16, 18, 109, 199, 263  
 Sukari, 56, 57  
 Sumenu, 78  
 Sumur, 180, 227, 229  
 sun god: Akhenaten and, 91; Amenhotep III and, 3, 36, 49, 80, 87, 90, 91, 94, 291, 300; cult of, 108, 109, 133, 272, 278, 282, 284; Horemakhet, 28, 49; and kingship, 137, 138, 142, 159, 160, 166, 290, 292, 307; myths, 14, 45, 87, 90, 132, 135, 139, 140, 159, 160, 166, 281, 282; Thutmose IV and, 51. *See also* Amon-Ra; Aten; Ra; Ra-Horakhty  
 Surer. *See* Amenemhet  
 Suty (manager of royal building in Thebes), 215; stela of, 279, 282, 283, 287  
 Swiss Institute, 63, 83  
 symbolism of minor artifacts, 96–98, 100, 101, 107–9, 111, 114, 115, 118  
 Syria, 1, 12, 19, 27, 31, 33, 36, 37, 53, 176, 180, 223, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 234, 236, 239, 243, 247, 248, 251, 256, 261, 297
- tables, 23, 47, 217  
 Tabo, 48

- Tadukhepa (Mitannian princess), 20, 22, 52, 226, 258, 260  
 Taitai, statue of, 116  
 Takhsy, 33  
 Tanaja, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242. *See also* Mycenaeans  
 Tanis, 24, 112, 118  
 Tarek, 266, 267  
 Tarkhundaradu of Arzawa, 225, 226, 242, 248, 250  
 Taweret, 120  
 Tefnut, 92, 144  
 Tehenu, 240  
 Tell Kazel, 227  
 Tell Sukas, 232  
 temple access, 130, 136  
 temple establishment, 206–12  
 textiles, 95  
 Thales, 135  
 Thebes, 54, 57, 60, 66, 112, 126, 133, 136, 142, 150, 152, 154, 163, 168, 169, 171, 172, 193, 194, 201, 211, 225, 262, 285, 302; Amenhotep III in, 15, 16, 66, 90, 143, 144, 154, 156, 161, 162, 170, 204, 205, 213, 284, 289, 293; cult of Amon in, 137, 139, 150, 153, 167, 195, 206–7; monuments in, 2, 8, 16, 32, 47, 66, 81, 84, 85, 86, 112, 128, 139, 143, 150, 151, 155, 162, 164–66, 186, 188, 203, 205, 209, 210, 211, 213, 215–17, 219, 223, 228, 284, 292, 295, 299; in text/titles, 2, 4, 11–13, 17, 38, 39, 116, 191, 199, 230  
 theology, 75, 133, 135–41, 153, 154, 170, 171, 172  
 Thomas, A.P., 311  
 Thoth, 2, 65, 146, 150, 158, 159  
 Thutmose II, 39, 50  
 Thutmose III: campaigns, 27, 30; coregency with Amenhotep II, 28 n. 8, 31, 40; coregency with Hatshepsut, 27; funerary temple, 127; Karnak constructions, 30–



- Thutmose III (*continued*)  
 31, 128; Luxor, 67, 155; temple of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut, 27, 66, 76, 127, 155, 168; wives, 39-40
- Thutmose IV: bark sanctuary, 68; buildings, 46-51, 69 n. 34, 81; campaigns, 27, 53-54, 54-58; children, 9; identification with sun god, 3; mother, 41, 44-45; relations with Babylonia, 52; relations with Mitanni, 3, 27, 52, 54, 176, 225, 226, 248, 252, 256, 257; Sed Festival of, 50; wives of, 45, 57
- Tiaa, 39, 41, 44, 45, 47
- Tigris, 19, 250
- Tinay. *See* Tanaja
- Tiyi, Queen: art and architecture of, 7, 13, 14, 17, 72, 73, 79, 86, 87, 100, 103, 104, 117, 231, 232-35, 246, 247, 292-93, 295, 298-300; burial of, 24; children of, 7, 8; divine aspects of, 7, 45, 90, 100, 148, 179, 304; family of, 6, 14, 95, 210; relationship with Akhenaten, 23, 45; sarcophagus of, 23; in text, 12, 13, 257
- Tjamut, 42
- Tjanni (military scribe), 58
- Tjenuna (chief steward of Thutmose IV), 58
- Tjesu, 268
- Toledo Museum of Art, 81
- tolerance, 228, 277, 280, 282, 305
- town, 13, 54, 56, 76, 78, 79, 130, 194, 223, 228, 229, 230
- traditional religion, 134, 136-37, 140, 153, 170-71, 172, 277ff., 281, 304
- traditional solar religion, 277-81, 286, 306
- Transjordan, 227, 228
- treasury, 24, 59, 60, 175, 182, 183, 185, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 200, 208, 213, 214, 259; state, 187-92
- Troy, 19, 237, 238, 246, 249
- Tudhaliya II, king, 248
- Tunip, 53, 54, 240, 242
- Tura, 10, 64, 81, 82
- Turi (chief of the Medjay at Thebes), 199
- Turin, 6, 80, 105, 116, 118
- Tutankhamen: art of, 5, 112; family of, 8, 9, 112; mummy of, 25, 114; reign of, 19, 105, 115, 240; tomb of, (KV), 110, 112, 118
- Tuya, 5, 13, 14, 95, 119, 122, 257
- Ullaza, 229
- University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, 16
- Upi, 227
- Upper Retenu, 35, 38
- urban administration, 193-95
- urban centers, 186, 193, 201, 229
- urban layouts, 139, 299
- urban palaces, 130, 201
- Usersatet (viceroy of Southern Countries), 37
- Valley Festival. *See* Beautiful Feast of the Valley
- Valley of the Kings, 5, 22, 24, 38, 44, 71, 112, 121, 155, 216, 236
- Vandersleyen, C., 10, 23
- Vassar College, 121
- Vercoutter, J., 239, 240
- vessels, 99, 103-11
- vineyard administration, 192ff.
- vizierate, 200-206
- Wachsmann, S., 240
- Wadi el Hudi, 57
- Wadi Hellal, 78
- Wadi Mia, 56
- Wadjmose, prince, 39, 85
- wah collars, 86-87, 113, 114, 117
- Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 109
- Waseda University, 76

Washukanni, 54

Wawat, 55, 56, 262

Webensenu, prince, 39, 44

weights, 101

Weinstein, J.M., 223

Wente, E.F., 300

Weresh, 266, 267

White Wall, 42, 213

Wilhelm, G., 2

wine jar, 95

worldview, 128-31, 134, 136, 141, 142, 149, 171

Yam, 56

Yankhamu, 180

Yarimuta, 229

Yiu, 191

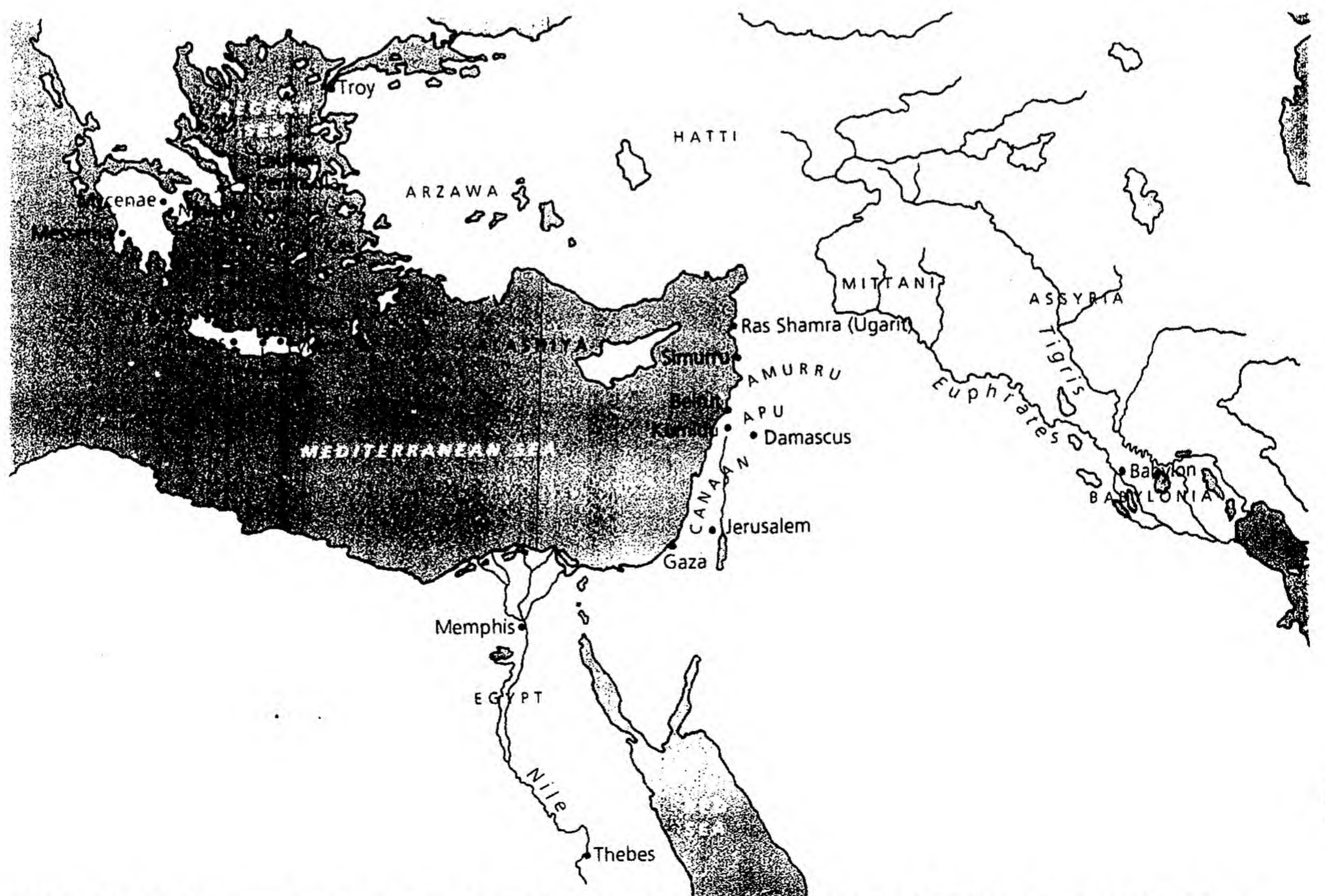
Yuya, 5, 13, 14, 95, 119, 122, 257

Zivie, A.-P., 113



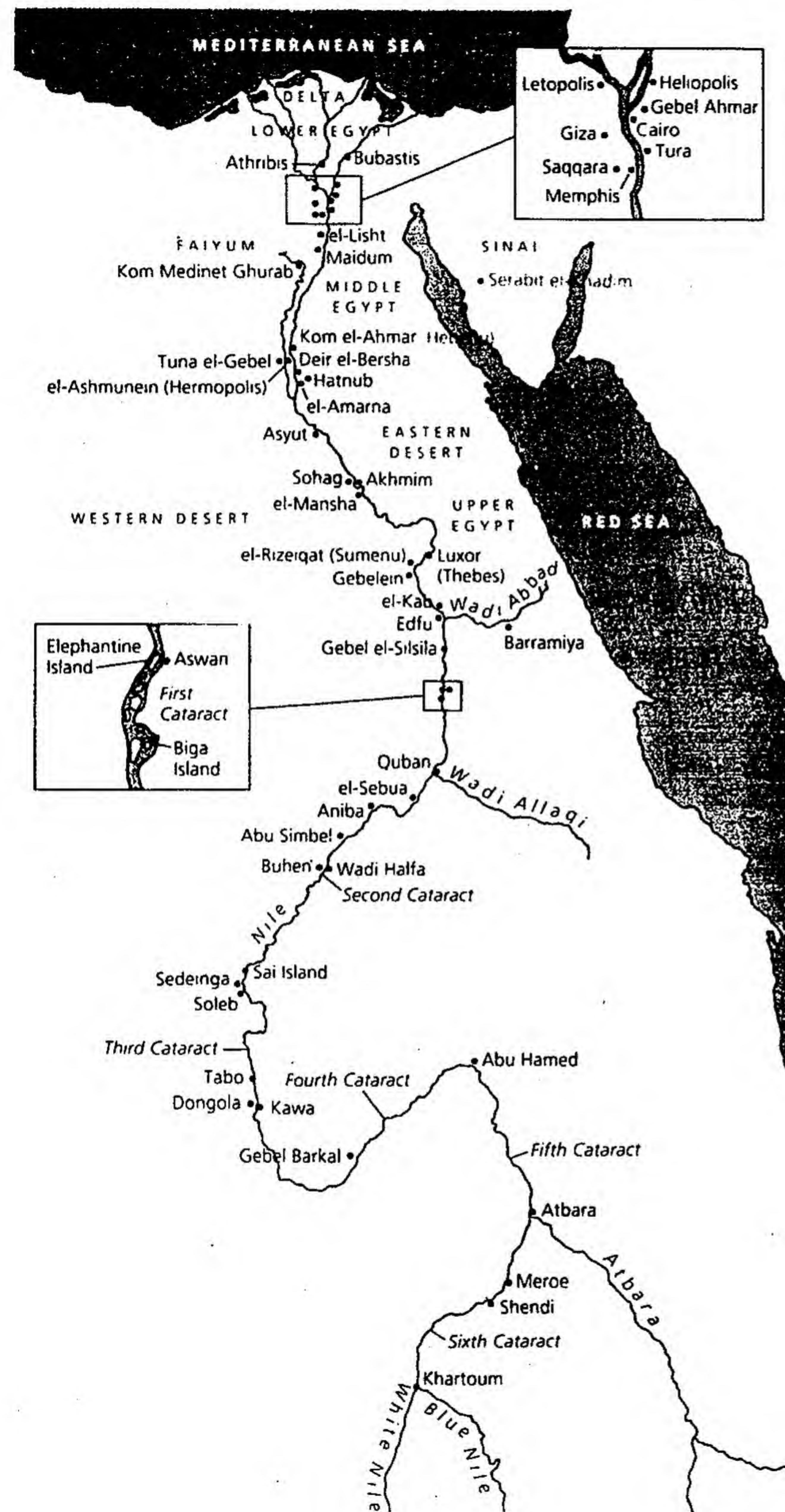
# PLATES



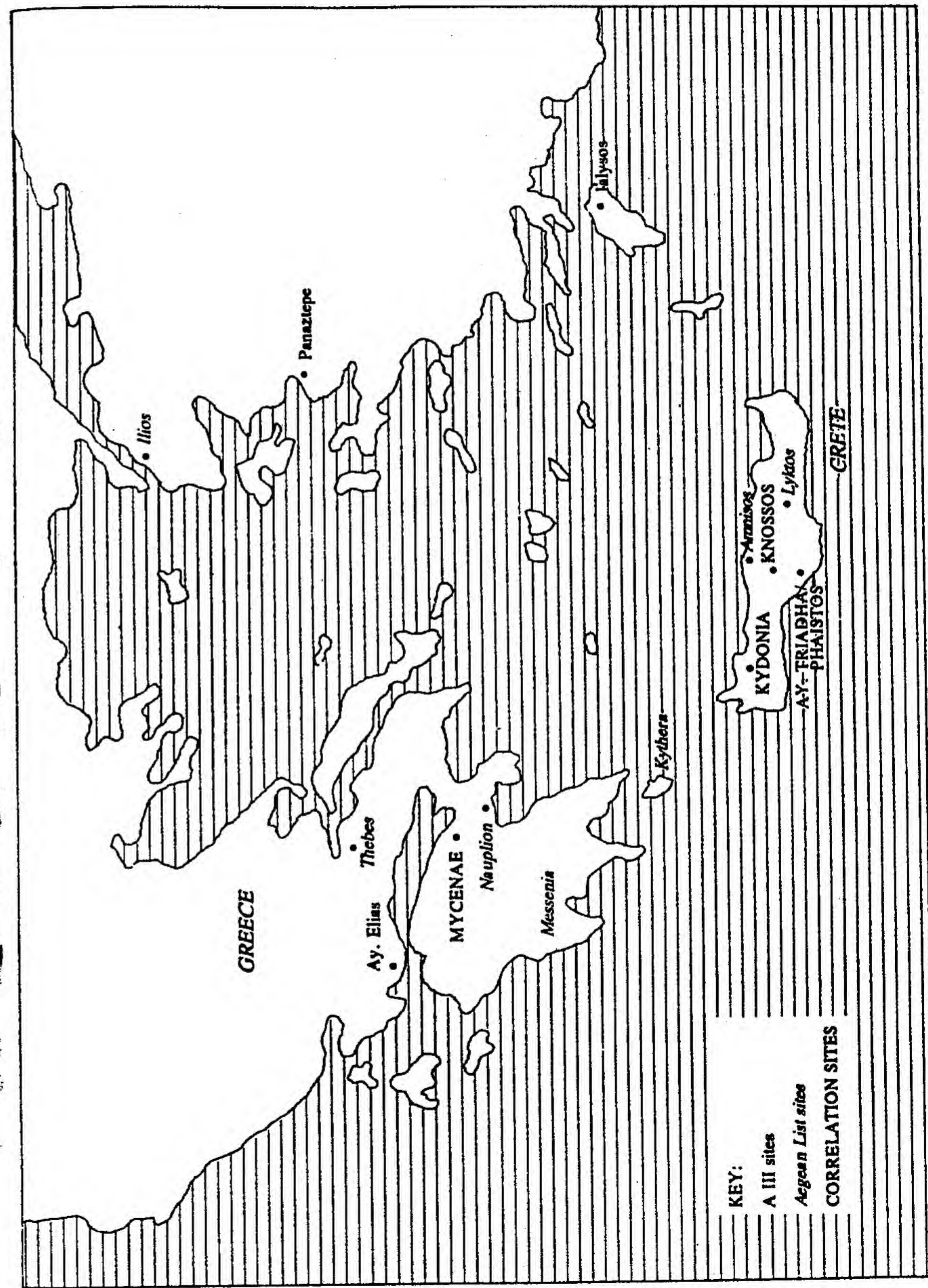


Map 1. The Mediterranean during the reign of Amenhotep III. (Adapted by E.H. Cline and J. Wallrodt from Kozloff and Bryan [1992] map 1.)



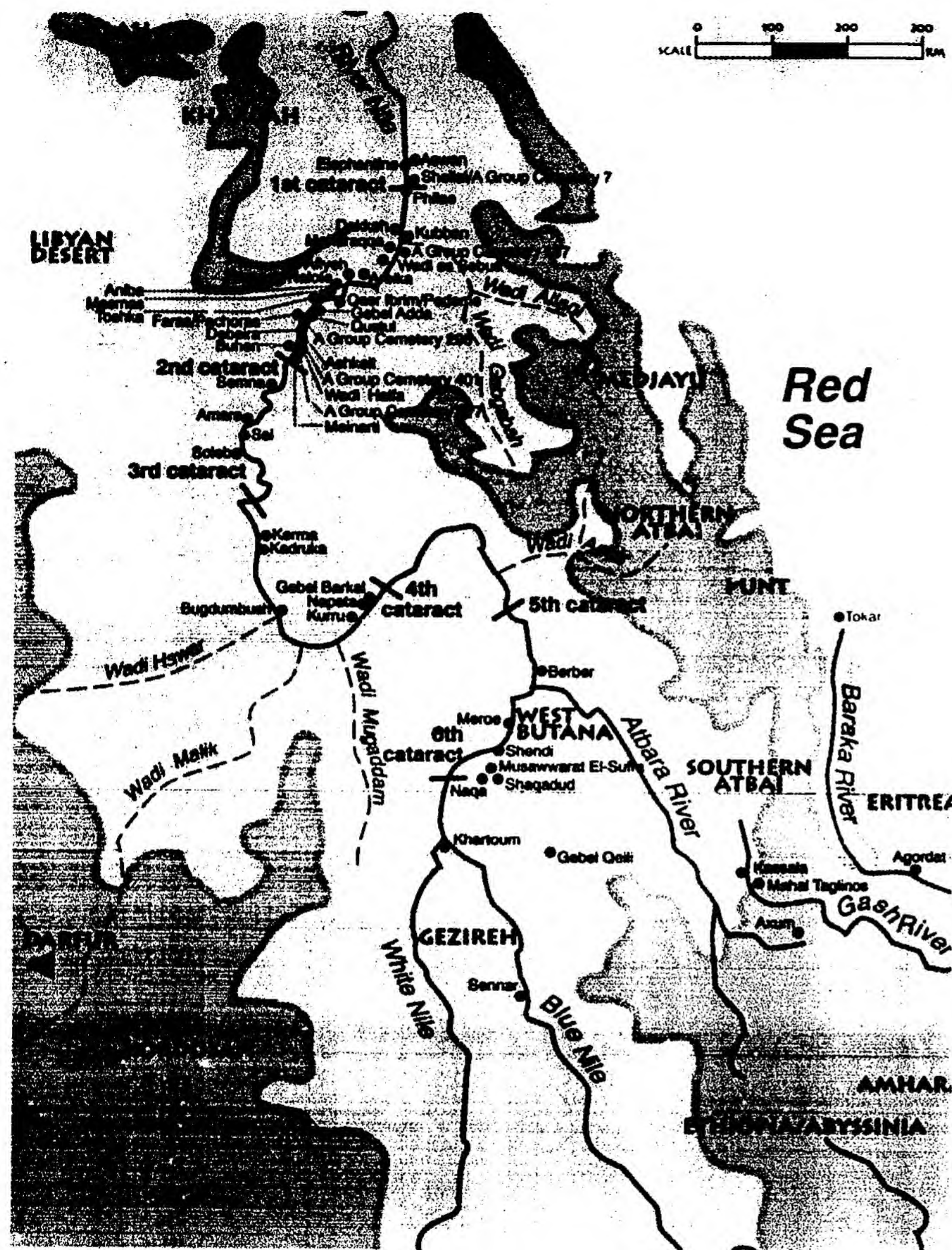


Map 2. The Nile Valley during the reign of Amenhotep III. (Adapted by E.H. Cline and J. Wallrodt from Kozloff and Bryan [1992] map 3.)



Map 3. Correlations between findspots of Amenhotep III/Queen Tiye objects and sites on the Aegean List of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hetan. (Adapted by E.H. Cline and J. Wallrodt from Cline [1994] map 3.)





Map 4. Nubia during the reign of Amenhotep III. (Adapted by E.H. Cline and J. Wallrodt from O'Connor [1993] fig. 1.1.)

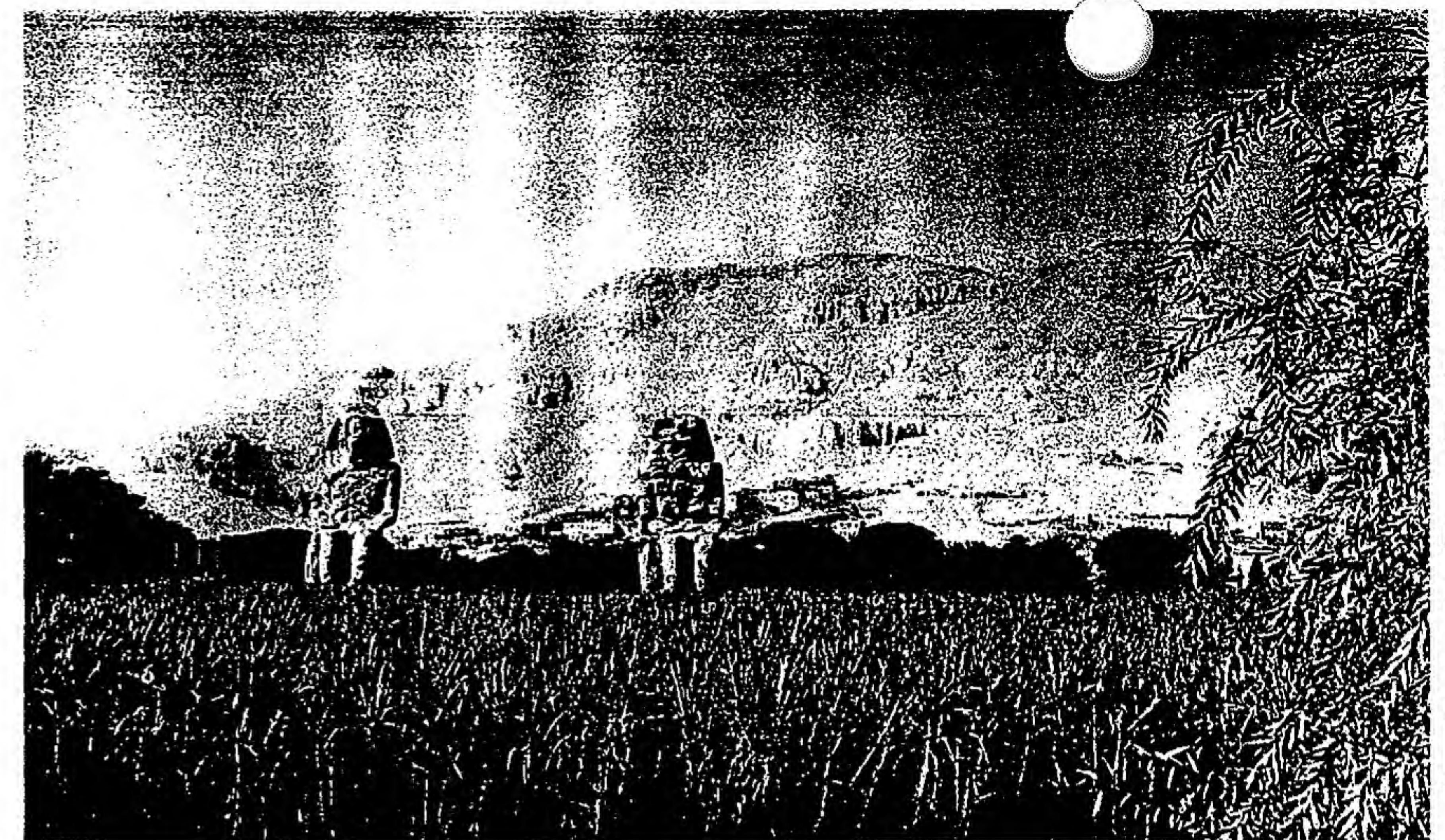


Fig. 1.1. Colossi of Memnon. Thebes, Kom el-Hetan, mortuary temple of Amenhotep III. (Photograph by John G. Ross.)



Fig. 1.2. Colossal group of Amenhotep III, Tiye, and three princesses. Limestone. H. 700 cm. Thebes, Medinet Habu. Cairo, Egyptian Museum no. M. 610 + JE 33906. (Photograph by John G. Ross.)



Fig. 1.3. Figure of Tiye on southern colossus of Memnon. (Photograph by John G. Ross.)





Fig. 1.4. Amenhotep III as crown prince. Thebes, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, tomb of Heqarneheh (TT 64). (After Lepsius [1849-59] vol. 3, pl. 69a.)



Fig. 1.5. Wild-bull-hunt scarab of Amenhotep III. Steatite. W. 6.56 cm, L. 10.46 cm, Diam. 2.46 cm. Cleveland Museum of Art no. 84.36 (gift of Betty and Max Ratner). (Photograph by Howard T. Agriesti.)

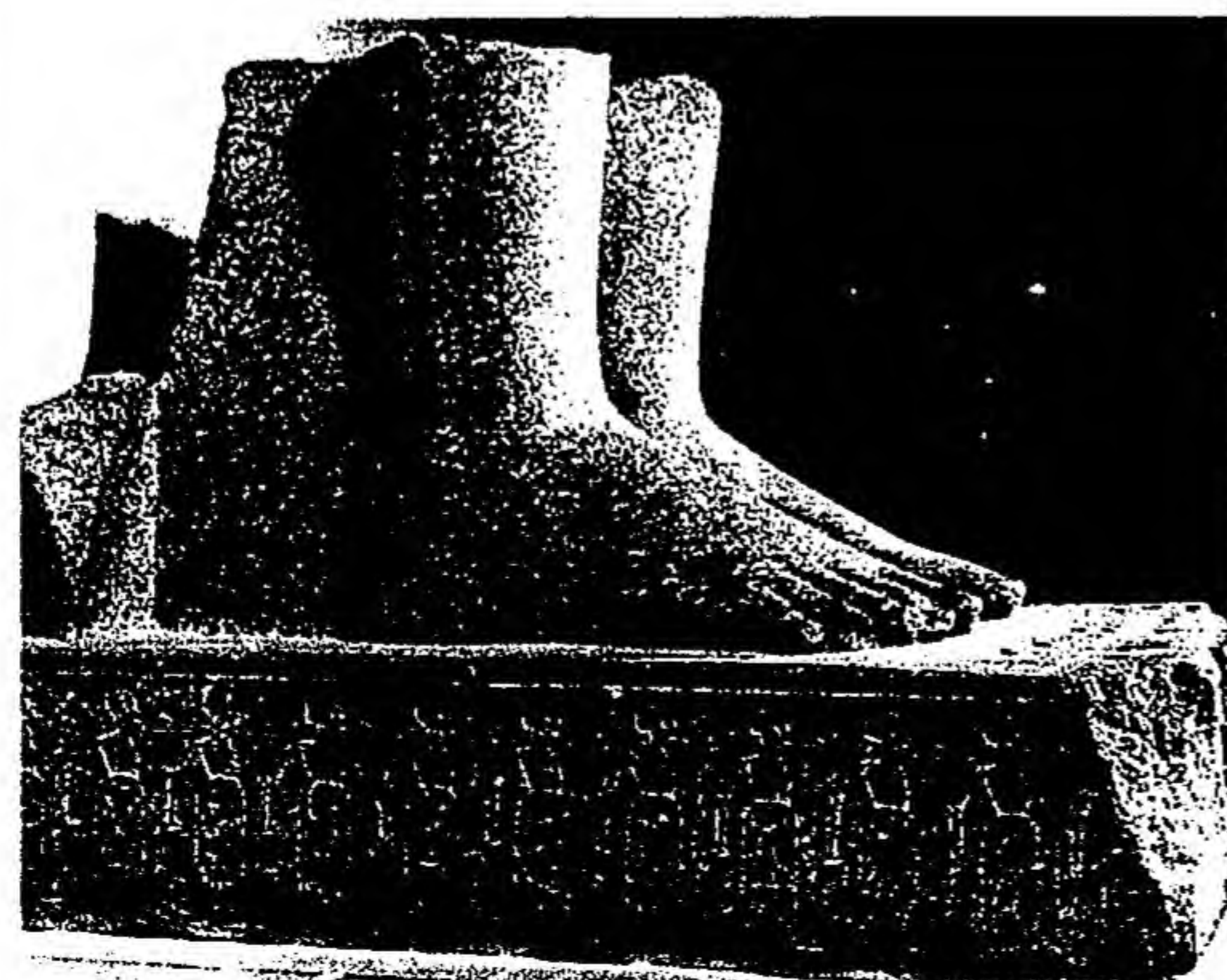


Fig. 1.6. Statue base of Amenhotep III with Sudanese place-names. Granite. L. 230 cm. Paris, Musée du Louvre no. A 18.

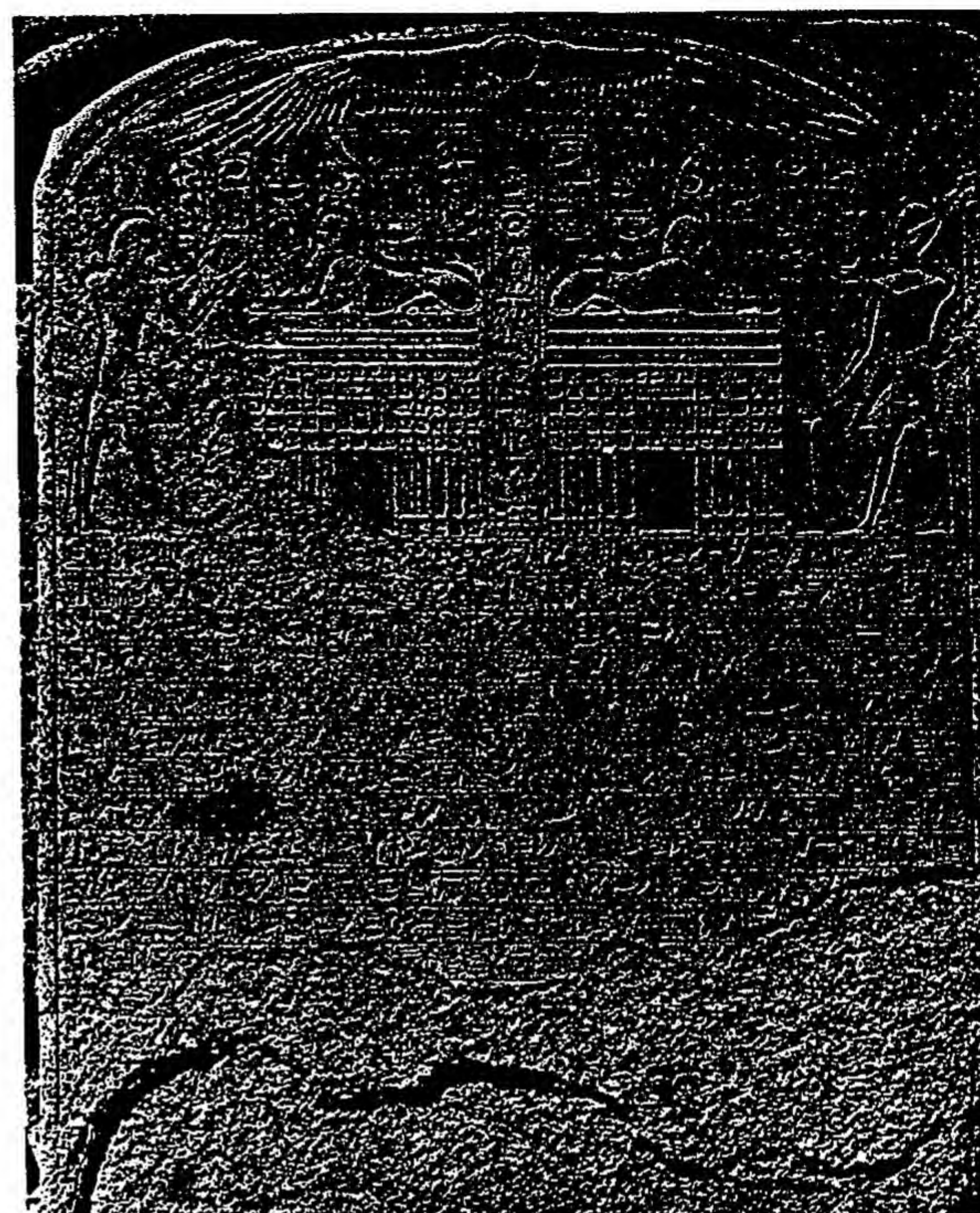


Fig. 2.1. Sphinx stela of Thutmose IV from Giza



Fig. 2.2. Hatshepsut as a sphinx. Memphis



Fig. 2.3. Eighth Pylon of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep II, Karnak.





Fig. 2.4. Colossal image of Thutmose III at Karnak



Fig. 2.5. Head of Queen Mother Tiaa from statue with Thutmose IV. CG 42080.



Fig. 2.6. Block from Karnak with Nefrura as God's wife holding mace

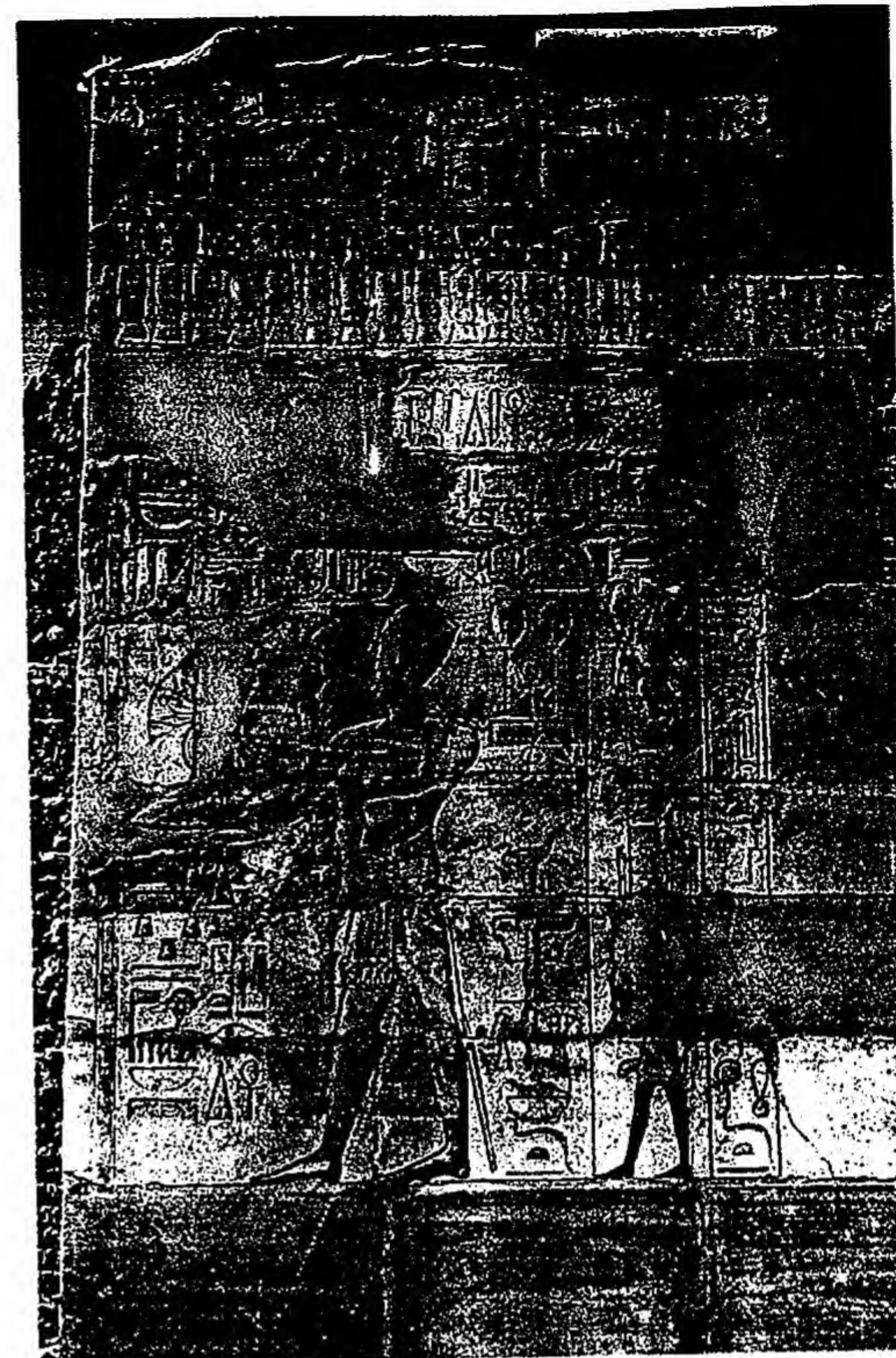


Fig. 2.7. Thutmose IV from Karnak court with sun disk and urqi on kilt



Fig. 2.8. Thutmose IV with oblique eyes resembling Amenhotep III. JE 43611.



Fig. 3.2. Restored Amenhotep III quartzite baboon. Hermopolis.

Fig. 3.1. Rock-cut stela fragment from the Tura limestone quarries. Toledo Museum of Art no. 1925.522. (Courtesy of Toledo Museum.)



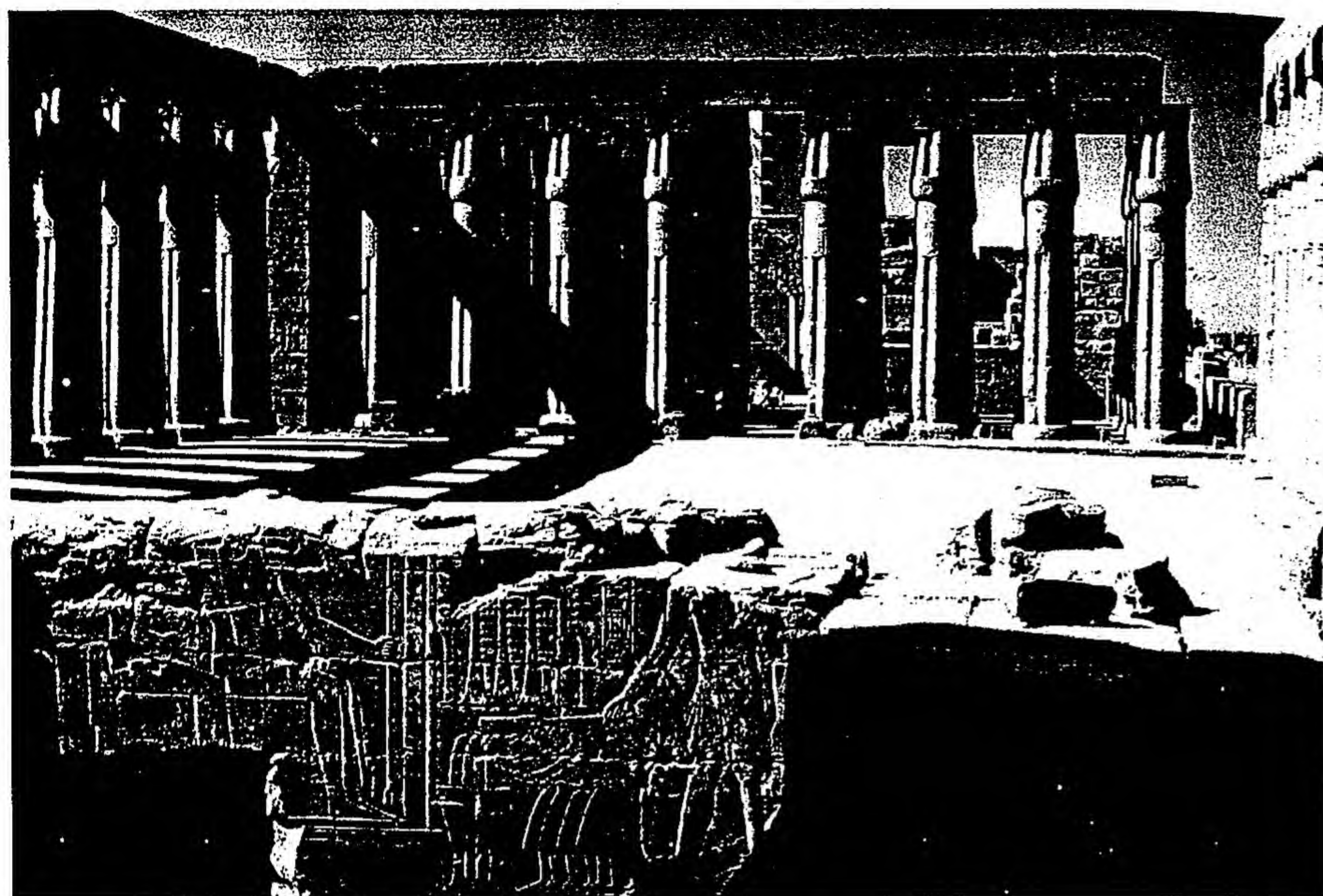


Fig. 3.3. Luxor temple proper and solar court, looking south



Fig. 3.4. Luxor temple Colonnade Hall, east side

Fig. 3.5. Amenhotep III cult statue from the Luxor temple cachette. Quartzite. Luxor Museum of Art, no. J838. (Courtesy of the Luxor Museum of Art.)

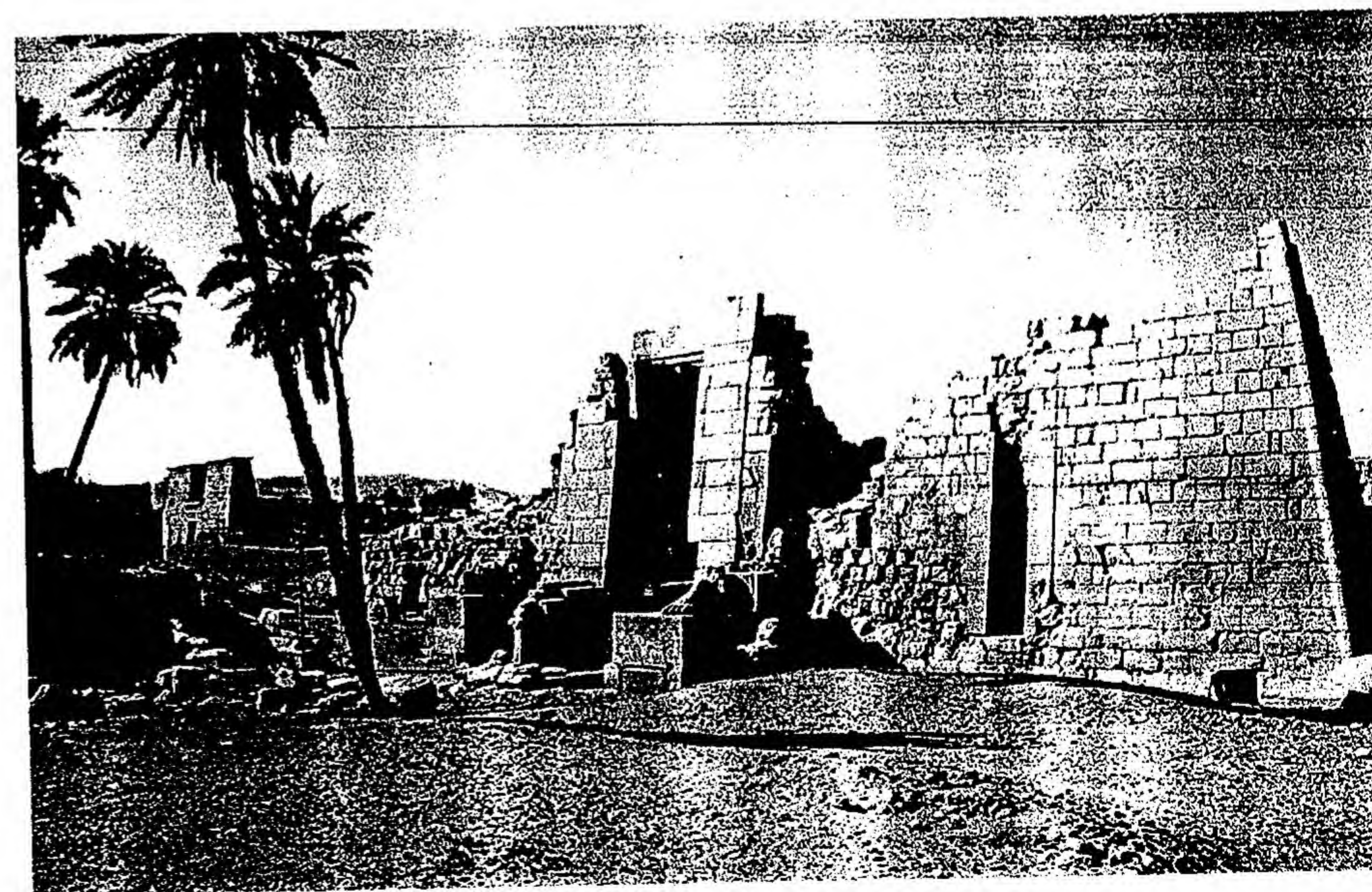


Fig. 3.6. Karnak, Tenth Pylon, south face





Fig. 3.7. Karnak, Tenth Pylon, south face; detail of east quartzite colossus, "Nebmaatira, Montu of the Rulers"



Fig. 3.8. Karnak, Montu temple, looking north



Fig. 3.9. Karnak, Montu temple; twin colossal statues in quartzite of Amenhotep III carrying the standard of Amon

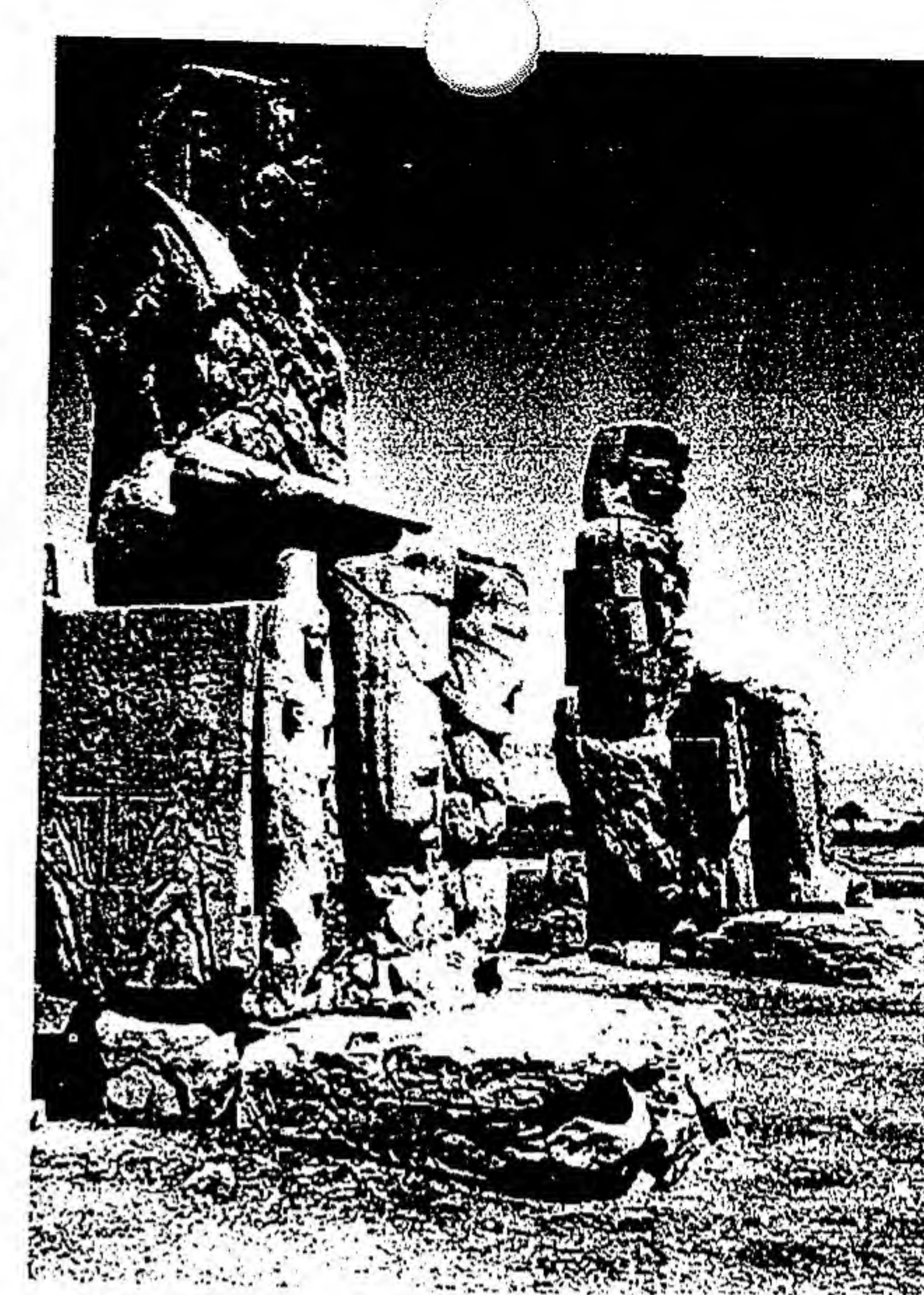


Fig. 3.11. Mortuary temple of Amenhotep III, looking north; the Colossi of Memnon



Fig. 3.10. Mortuary temple solar court of Amenhotep III, looking east toward the Colossi of Memnon